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John O'Sullivan on James Burnham

NATIONAL REVIEW

Death in Africa

Why liberalism can't beat AIDS BY ROD DREHER

PLUS: **York** on 'Anti-war' Reds
Pryce-Jones on John Le Carré
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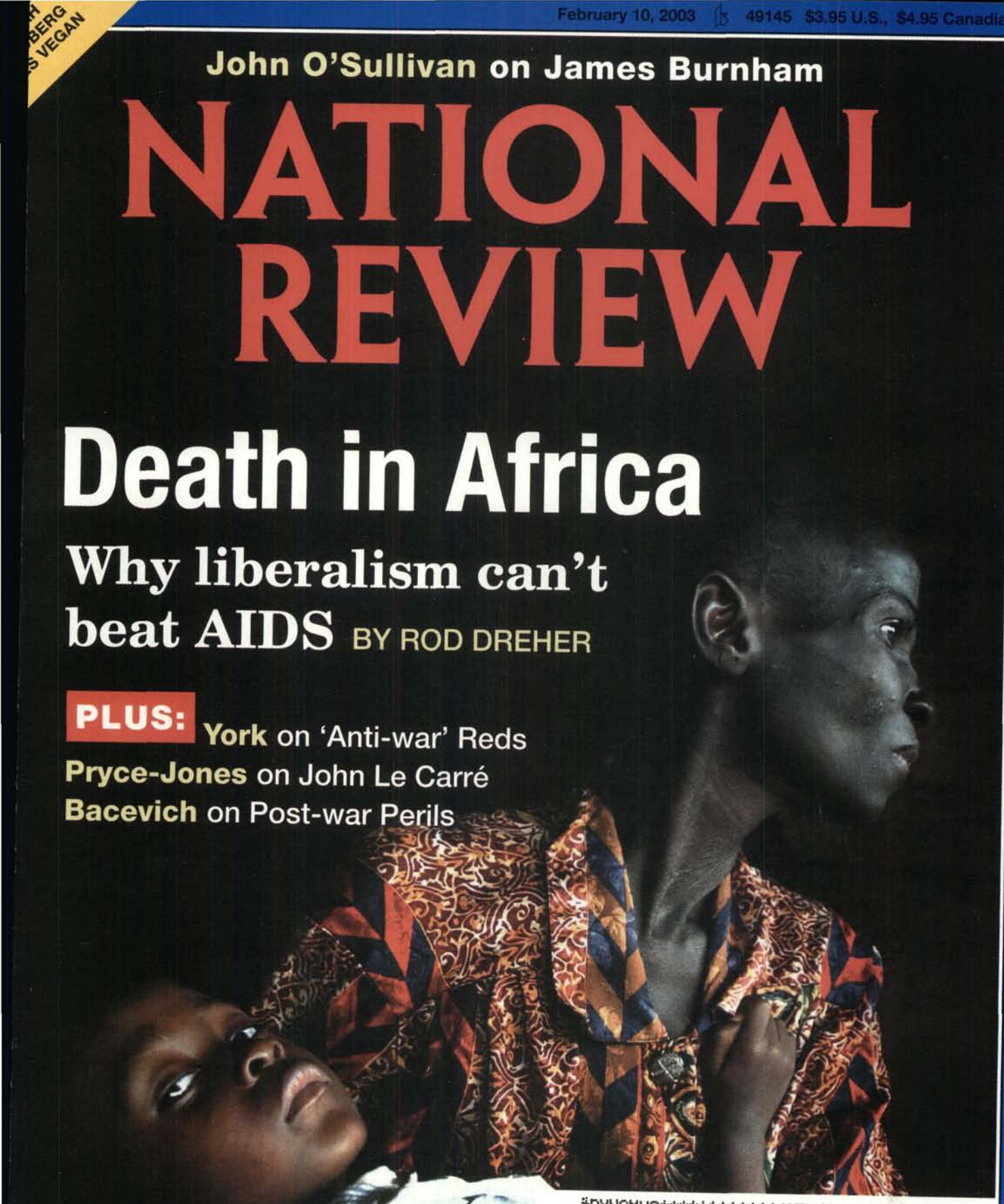

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■ LETTERS ■

METEOROLOGICAL FOLLIES

NR reports (For the Record, Jan. 27) that "climate experts" predict 2003 may be the "hottest year in modern record."

Meanwhile, Europe is gripped in an abnormally cold winter, as is eastern Siberia. Russia has the coldest weather in more than 15 years, the Gulf of Finland freezes to a depth not seen since 1941, southern France reaches –5°C, and it snows in Venice.

This kind of global warming is too complicated for us non-experts to understand.

Henry E. Heatherly
Lafayette, La.

THE CHURCH AND THE HOLOCAUST

I am afraid that Mark Riebling's review of Daniel Goldhagen's *A Moral Reckoning* ("Jesus, Jews, and the Shoah," Jan. 27) misses the point when he dwells on whether a generalized Christian "hatred for the Jews" over centuries caused the Holocaust but neglects the failure of Pius XII to denounce and oppose it.

A private message to Hitler and Mussolini that they would be publicly denounced and excommunicated may have saved millions of innocent lives.

From terminating Catholic political opposition to Hitler and Mussolini, to negotiating concordats with them as enemies of atheistic Communist Russia, to knowingly ignoring the single most horrible crime of modern times, Pius XII failed humanity.

John Tomasin
West New York, N.J.

ST. ROD OF ASSISI

As a "crunchy con," I was delighted to read Rod Dreher's "USDA-Disapproved" (Jan. 27).

It greatly enhances the respectability of organic farming and humane animal husbandry when a distinguished author and magazine write and publish such an article, showing that one can be a supporter of humane animal farming and not be a liberal nut case. The primary reason why I buy only meat raised humanely is that these same animals were also humanely slaughtered. The least we can do is ensure that animals who provide so much to us are given a decent life and death.

Laurie Karnay
Fairfax, Va.

THE WORST OF TIMES

Re Theodore Dalrymple's "Isle of War" (Dec. 31): England's moral collapse began with the disarming of the English people and making self-defense a crime. Crime shot up in Australia, too, when they did the same thing. Disarming ordinary citizens doesn't disarm the criminal a damn bit. Now there are people in the United States who want the same thing. It'll have the same results, with bells.

Glen Reames
Carson City, Nev.

The cause of Britain's shocking crime and barbarism is insane immigration policies, which are flooding the country with people who have no feeling for English ways.

The police seem to do nothing to prevent the chaos, apparently for fear of being labeled "racist." This is a formula for disaster.

James Patterson
Newport Beach, Calif.

A WORD FROM 'B'

As the conservative journalist B in John Derbyshire's column "Nor Custom Stale" (Jan. 27), may I correct his account on one important point—both to set the record straight and to establish what fine fellows conservative journalists are.

After my wife had thrice inquired about C's age, he did not make a polite excuse, leave, and avoid her thereafter. Quite the contrary, he remained chatting affably, and we all parted half an hour later on good terms. My wife, incidentally, thinks that C's reluctance to discuss his age is because his real name is Dorian Gray.

B

HOW TO PROTEST!

To NR readers who will be boycotting the Masters tournament because Augusta National has no female members ("Hootie vs. Hootie" by Jay Nordlinger, Jan. 27): Display your disgust by mailing your tickets to me. I promise to bury them deep in the nearest landfill.

Cross my heart.

Edwin F. Durivage
Toledo, Ohio

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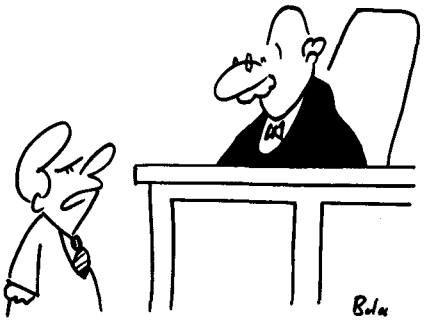
■ FOR THE RECORD ■

■ In CNN/*USA Today* poll, President **Bush** earns 58 percent approval rating—lowest since September 11 attacks. . . . **Kellyanne Conway** of the Polling Company, on National Review Online: "At 58 percent, Mr. Bush's approval rating is identical to that of President **Reagan** on the eve of his landslide reelection in 1984." . . . Bush: "Is **Saddam Hussein** disarming? He's been given eleven years to disarm. And so the world came together and we have given him one last chance to disarm. So far, I haven't seen any evidence that he is disarming. Time is running out on Saddam Hussein. He must disarm. I'm sick and tired of games and deception." . . . Defense secretary **Donald Rumsfeld**: "The choice between war and peace will not be made in Washington or, indeed, in New York—it will be made in Baghdad." . . . Sen. **Jon Kyl** (R., Ariz.) on chemical warheads found by U.N. inspectors: "Iraq's determination to threaten the world with weapons of mass destruction appears once again to have been aptly demonstrated. The most surprising thing about this discovery is that anyone is surprised by it at all. It adds yet another deception to Iraq's mountain of lies." . . . Bush on medical liability: "You can pretty well blackmail a doctor into settlement if you continue to throw lawsuit after lawsuit, and the system looks like a giant lottery." . . . Former Treasury secretary **Paul O'Neill** says he wouldn't have supported current Bush tax-relief plan.

■ Sen. **Joe Biden** (D., Del.), to Gannett News Service: "If John Kerry—probably the most qualified of the declared candidates, in my view—is out there presenting the message that I would, I wouldn't feel the need to run." . . . South Carolina Democratic chairman **Dick Harpootlian**, in *Time*: "I've noticed that **Joe Lieberman** has been using the term 'y'all' lately when he calls me." . . . On day he announces for president, Lieberman offers qualified support for school choice. . . . **Al Sharpton**, on whether white voters will forgive his race-baiting and other controversial activities, on NBC: "I think you got white candidates with worse backgrounds. . . . I'm not getting into name-calling, but we've had candidates that have had personal indiscretion." . . . More Sharpton, in *American Prospect*: "I laugh when people mention to me stuff like [Tawana] **Brawley**." . . . Former senator **Carol Moseley-Braun** (D., Ill.) says she may run for president.

■ Many in Bush administration expect Office of Management and Budget director **Mitch Daniels** to quit and run for Indiana governor. . . . As Sen. **Zell Miller** (D., Ga.) says he won't seek reelection, long list of Republicans say they may vie for seat. . . . Club for



"Hey—Sociopaths have feelings too, *you know!..."*

Growth's **Stephen Moore** encourages Rep. **Jeff Flake** (R., Ariz.) to challenge Sen. **John McCain** (R., Ariz.) in GOP primary, tells *Arizona Republic*: "We're trying to convince him to run, and we'd raise money for him. Whether Jeff does it or not is still 50–50." . . . Rep. **Harold Ford Jr.** (D., Tenn.) says GOP has made party-switching overtures, but declares, "I'm a Democrat" in *Memphis Flyer*. . . . Sen. **Chuck Hagel** (R., Neb.), in *Omaha World-Herald*: "I don't spend a lot of time thinking about running for president. Is it something I'd rule out? No." Adds Hagel: "I'd expect to win." . . . In Pew poll, 65 percent can't name any Democrats running for president.

■ "I happen to like him," says Sen. **Hillary Clinton** (D., N.Y.) of Sen. **Don Nickles** (R., Okla.), in *New York Times*. "I am reluctant to say that because I am sure that will hurt him in Oklahoma." . . . Sen. Clinton surprises some by joining Armed Services Committee. Says **Elaine Donnelly** of conservative Center for Military Readiness, in *New York Post*: "The first woman president will certainly be someone who's strong and pro-defense in the mode of **Margaret Thatcher** and **Golda Meir**." . . . Sen. **Chuck Schumer** (D., N.Y.), in *New York Observer*: "I believe the hard Right has come to the conclusion at some point they were never going to get their way with the elected branches of government. So they found another way—the judiciary." . . . **Jesse Jackson**, on MSNBC: "No one has inspired more blacks for hope in America than I have." . . . Former attorney general **Janet Reno**, on whether she'd run for office again, following defeat in Florida's Democratic gubernatorial primary, in *Palm Beach Post*: "Probably not." But she refuses to rule out bid if Sen. **Bob Graham** (D.) quits Senate. . . . NR accepting applications for a summer internship. Interested college students should send résumés to Internship, NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, NY 10016.

■ French foreign minister **Dominique de Villepin** says France is not ready to approve use of force against Iraq and warns that U.N. handling of Baghdad will set a precedent for North Korea and the Middle East. . . . Hussein: "The people of Baghdad have resolved to compel the Mongols of this age to commit suicide on its walls. . . . Everyone who tries to climb over its walls . . . will fail in his attempt." . . . Incoming South Korean president **Roh Moo Hyun**: "It is our judgment that we cannot face or embrace war with North Korea. It is such a catastrophic result that I cannot even imagine. We have to handle the North–South relations in such a way that we do not have to face such a situation."

■ **David Letterman**: "We're learning more and more about North Korean dictator **Kim Jong Il**. He succeeded his father, who was Menta Lee Il." **NR**

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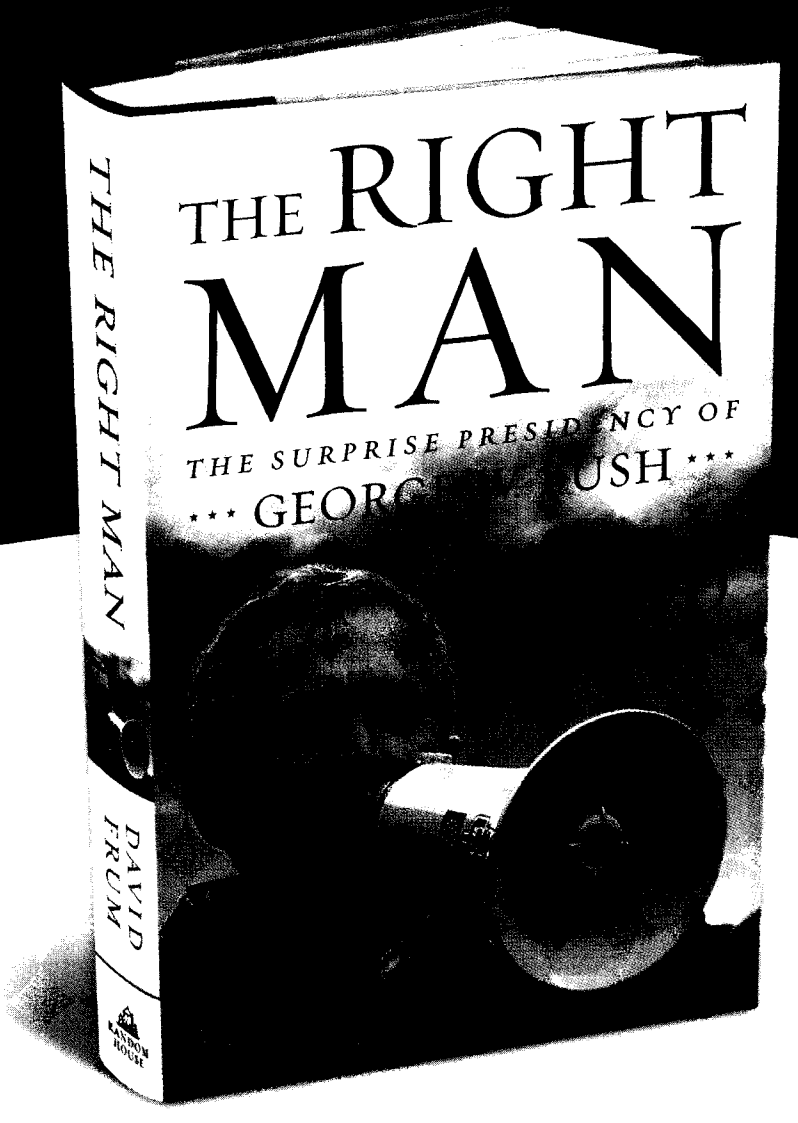

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RANDOM HOUSE

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THE WEEK

■ France is willing to fight, thank goodness—but only within the U.N. Security Council.

■ Donald Rumsfeld suggested that war with Iraq could be avoided if "the senior leadership in that country" were to find a "haven in some other country." He raised the possibility that Saddam Hussein might escape a war-crimes trial if he relinquished power. Rumsfeld isn't freelancing: Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice said similar things the same weekend. We (along with the Iraqis) may therefore be reasonably sure that Rumsfeld's implicit offer is an American policy. That policy recognizes that America has no interest in seeing Saddam brought to trial, or killed, at the cost of a war. But the necessary caveat is that the "senior leadership" must be defined with a wide net. The Ba'athist regime must be dismantled, not recapitated. Because our quarrel is not with Saddam Hussein personally, we need not "get" him. But for the same reason, we cannot safely stop at his removal from power.

■ In response to a just-released Vatican document that reminds Catholics in public life of their "grave and clear obligation to oppose any law that attacks human life," Sen. John Kerry explained that as a Catholic politician he answers to a higher authority. Kerry cited his faithful adherence to President Kennedy's claim that no elected official should be "limited or conditioned by any religious oath, ritual, or obligation." The Vatican also expressed the expectation that Catholic politicians would oppose same-sex marriage. Sen. Ted Kennedy, who shares with Kerry a zero rating on pro-life issues and a perfect score from gay-rights groups, also stated his support for his late brother's position. While their Church calls on them to be bound by absolute truths, not exclusive to Catholicism, to advance the common good, Kerry and Kennedy seek refuge in the demands of a phony pluralism to maintain their good standing in a party that worships intolerant secularism. That they do so while maintaining their good standing in the Catholic Church is another scandal in the Boston Archdiocese.

■ During the fat years of the 1990s, conservatives got used to making moral arguments for tax relief. They—we—argued that surpluses should be returned to the taxpayers because the money belonged to them, and that it was wrong to tax people at death. Conservatives got out of the habit of making *economic* arguments for tax cuts. They need to get back into it. Supporters of the president's tax-cut plan, inside and outside the administration, are talking a lot about the unfairness of taxing dividends twice. They are not talking nearly as much about the benefits that will accrue to the economy as the dividend tax cut lowers the cost of capital. The closest they come to making an economic case is to say that the tax cut will put money in people's pockets, with the implication being that they will then shop their way to national prosperity. But if that's the way to stimulate the economy, the Democrats' plan really is better than the president's. Their plan puts money in people's pockets sooner, and we can be very sure that the people they have in mind—state governments, mostly—would spend it. The public always favors tax cuts. But in times of slow and uncertain growth, what it most wants is reassurance that a pro-growth economic policy is on the way. The president has proposed just such a policy. It would be nice if someone bothered to explain it.

■ Five Republicans and six Democrats in the Senate are trying to come up with a "centrist" alternative to President Bush's tax-cut proposal. The Republicans are the usual high-spending, high-taxing suspects: Olympia Snowe, Lincoln Chafee, Susan Collins, George Voinovich . . . and one addition to the ranks, Norm Coleman. He is new to the neighborhood, having been elected in November, but already hanging with a bad crowd. Perhaps Coleman's behavior would make sense if the good people of Minnesota had wanted a senator who would restrain Bush's tax-cutting. But if that's what they wanted, they could have elected Walter Mondale.

■ As Jay Nordlinger has reported in these pages, unlimited jury awards in medical-malpractice cases have caused a crisis in some states. Doctors who can't afford to insure against capricious and massive awards are leaving litigation-happy states. So President Bush is proposing a cap of $250,000 on what plaintiffs can get for their "pain and suffering." The plan prompted Democratic senator John Edwards, the trial-lawyer-turned-senator who wants to be president, to offer an economics lesson to the president. Insurance premiums have gone up, he says, because the greedy insurance companies have lost money in the stock market and are sticking it to doctors to make up the loss. This explanation implies that insurers were previously forgoing profit-making opportunities by charging doctors less than the market would bear. Was this out of the goodness of their hearts? Edwards also glides over the fact that insurers, as well as doctors, have left the most litigious states. The most severe problems are not where the insurance companies are making the most money, but where they are making the least. We have our own concerns about the president's plan, not being persuaded that this is an area where the federal government should intrude. But the Democratic critique refuses to acknowledge reality.

■ Gallup came out with another abortion poll in time for the 30th anniversary of *Roe* v. *Wade*. There were few surprises. Most people like *Roe*, although they may not know much about it.

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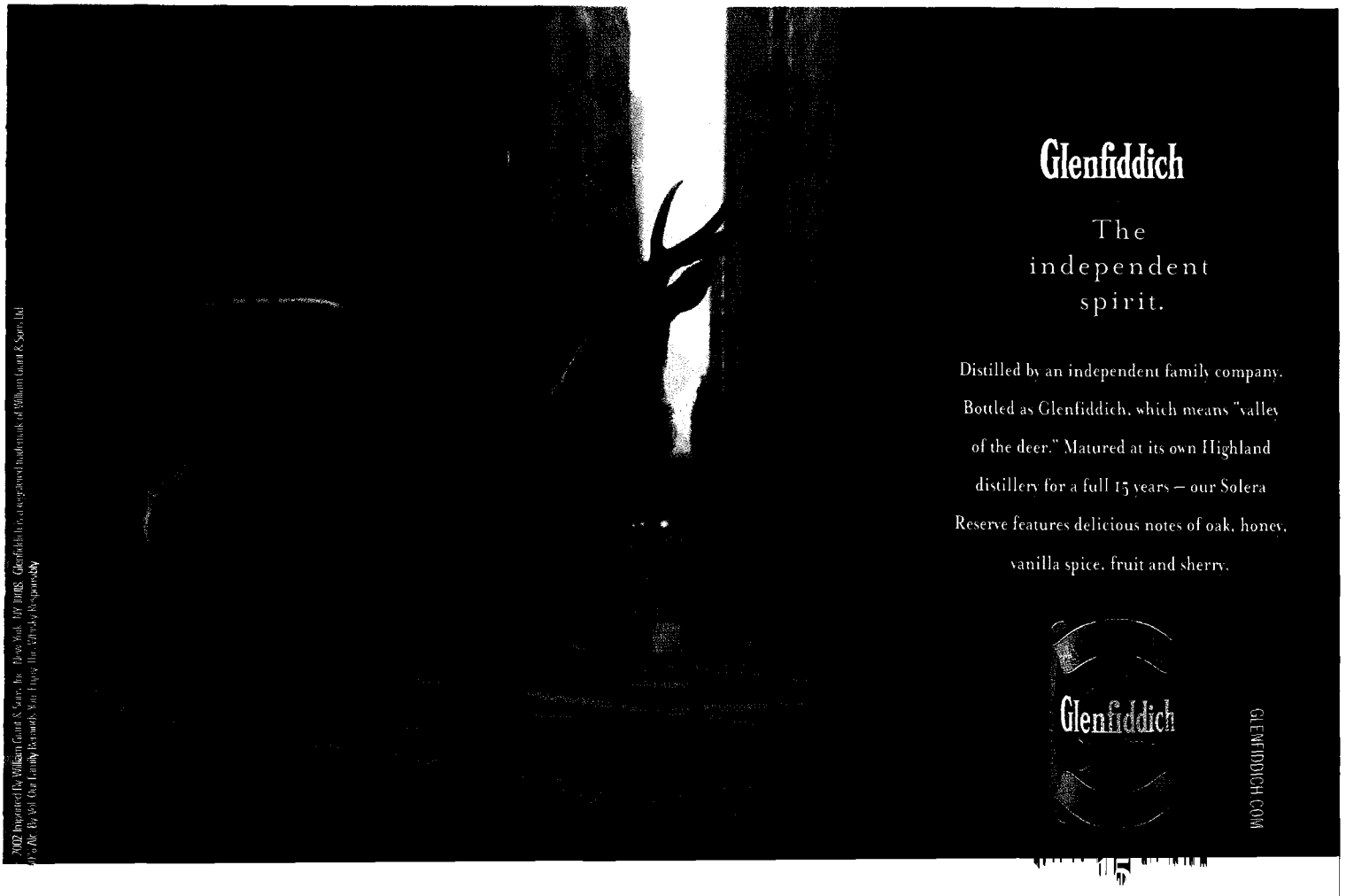
They oppose a constitutional amendment to ban abortion. But they also favor regulations. More than 70 percent favor "informed consent," waiting periods, and parental consent. Sixty percent think abortion should be either illegal or legal "only in a few circumstances," while 38 percent think it should be legal under "any" or "most" circumstances. Women are slightly more pro-life, men slightly more pro-choice. The public continues to find the prevalence of abortion disturbing. That may be why the leading organization supporting legal abortion, the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League, has just changed its name to "NARAL Pro-Choice America." It's the second time the group has changed its name in a way that obscured the A-word. Smart move.

■ When outgoing governor George Ryan of Illinois commuted the death sentences of all 167 people on his state's Death Row, he said he did so "above all" from a concern for "fairness": A "demon of error" so permeates the justice system of Illinois, he said, that capital sentences are handed down in a capricious and arbitrary manner. Thirteen Death Row inmates had been exonerated since 1977, so there was reason to worry that the state's system was flawed. But Ryan had already imposed a moratorium on executions. He went further now because, he explained, the legislature had refused to enact any reforms. Then the task of reform should have been urged on the new legislature and governor (Ryan did not stand for reelection, having become mired in a corruption scandal). Ryan's sweeping exoneration shows that he acted instead from a characteristic insight of liberalism: the recognition that the liberal has less moral stamina than a killer. Out of passion, or will, or weak-mindedness, one man will take an innocent life. Out of self-doubt, another man will refuse to take even a guilty life. The vexation of Illinoisans over the prospect of dozens of murderers' escaping justice must be balanced by their satisfaction in knowing that a despicable man is leaving office.

■ "GOP Governors Grit Teeth and Raise Taxes," declared the *Washington Post* headline on a recent story chronicling the budget-deficit woes of reluctant tax increasers like Gov. Dirk Kempthorne of Idaho and Gov. Mike Huckabee of Arkansas. These Republican governors have kept fiscal company with each other before. Kempthorne and Huckabee were both "C" students on the Cato Institute's fiscal report card last year. Idaho and Arkansas were among the eight states that increased real spending by more than 50 percent during the 1990s. Not that the other states were skinflints. State spending across the country grew by 39 percent between 1996 and 2001—twice as fast as federal spending. *USA Today* reports that state spending continued to grow in 2002, at an annual rate of 4.2 percent, and that state and local governments are currently spending more



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money and hiring more workers than they did last year. As another Republican governor has said, "States do not have a revenue problem. They have an overspending problem." We'd give Bill Owens of Colorado an A, but he already got one from Cato.

■ Democrats are not known for wrapping themselves in the flag—but it worked for Mike Snow, who has just won reelection to the Georgia legislature. Problem is, Snow used the wrong flag: His campaign distributed lawn signs—produced with money from the Georgia Democratic party—emblazoned with the old state flag (two-thirds of which is the Confederate battle flag) and the words, "Mike Voted To Keep Our Flag . . . Let's Vote To Keep Mike!" In light of the Democratic party's chest-pounding on race and its insistence that Republicans have a moral obligation to denounce any Confederate imagery they run into, one might expect the top Democrats (not to mention their supporters in the media and "civil rights" organizations) to call for the heads of Snow and the Democratic party officials who authorized the spending. Instead . . . nothing. Figures.

■ New York City's recently elected Republican mayor Michael Bloomberg has a mixed record so far and is thought by some to be dilettantish. But he has moved briskly to try to break the performance shortfall in New York's public-school system. On mandated tests, about half the pupils have failed to meet standards. Now Mr. Bloomberg has abolished the seven-member Board of Education and taken control himself of education policy. He has greatly centralized school administration, established an academy for principals, added phonics to the reading curriculum, and made the curriculum uniform citywide. His moves are bold, and took courage. He will now have to prove himself no dilettante mayor by following through, even as powerful interests in the city resist reform.

■ On January 16, relatives of two victims of the D.C. snipers filed suit against the makers of the Bushmaster XM15 assault rifle used in the killings. "This assault rifle, which served the snipers' deadly purposes so well, did not fall from the sky into their hands," Dennis Henigan, legal director of the Brady Center, told the *Washington Post*. The suit is only the latest in a series. As recently as November, a Florida jury ordered a gun distributor to pay $1.2 million to a woman whose husband was killed in a school shooting. It may seem that notions of personal responsibility have been completely forgotten in contemporary America, but take heart: Sniper suspects John Muhammad and Lee Malvo are also listed as co-defendants in the suit—at the tail end of a list that includes Bull's Eye, the gun shop; Bull's Eye's owners, Brian Borgelt and Charles Carr; Bushmaster Firearms; and a distributor.

■ The capricious despotism of President Robert Mugabe has now reduced Zimbabwe to a condition in which, for swelling numbers of her people, there is no food, no fuel, no money, and no work. Observers believe that the next phase in the downward slide of this once-prosperous nation will be famines and food riots. Now Mugabe seems bent on alienating South Africa, his last friend in the world, and a nation on whose goodwill landlocked Zimbabwe critically depends. Back in August his information minister, one Jonathan Moyo, made headlines in the region by denying that there was any crisis in Zimbabwe and remarking that: "In fact, the average black person in Zimbabwe is better off than the average black person in South Africa." Now Mr. Moyo is in the headlines again. South Africa's *Sunday Times* reported that over the New Year period, Mr. Moyo spent two weeks in Johannesburg. He occupied his time during the visit by stocking up on food and other goods. With the assistance of an ever-present corps of bodyguards, he loaded this bounty into his Mercedes, his Pajero SUV, a third unspecified vehicle, and a trailer. Then he headed back to Zimbabwe. Feeling compelled to respond to the *Times* article, Mr. Moyo declared that: "These people [i.e., South Africans] are dirty. In fact, they are filthy and recklessly uncouth. . . . Their barbarism will never take root or find expression in Africa." Invited to explain what he meant by *that*, Mr. Moyo said he had been quoted out of context. Mr. Moyo has a Ph.D. in Public Administration from the University of Southern California.

■ When maverick Dutch politician Pim Fortuyn began speaking out against Islamists in Holland, he received numerous death threats, which police didn't take seriously enough: Fortuyn was shot and killed last year (by a radical environmentalist, it would appear) days before national elections. Dutch authorities aren't taking any chances with Holland's newest political sensation, Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a 32-year-old Somali refugee and apostate Muslim running as a Liberal party candidate for the Dutch parliament. Arriving in Holland ten years ago as an asylum seeker, Ali learned Dutch and studied political science at the University of Leiden. She says she discovered that Western countries were the world's winners because they developed societies that respect the individual, and are capable of self-criticism. Her favorite political philosopher is John Stuart Mill. She began to warn the Dutch government that its official multiculturalist policy was allowing a fifth column of radical Muslims, with the intention of destroying liberal democracy, to develop. The ruling Labor party tried to shut her up, and when Ali said on TV that Islam was backward, and that she no longer practiced the faith, death threats sent her into hiding. She's back, and she's not shutting up. It is interesting to note that the two bravest opponents of Holland's suicidal multiculturalism have been a gay man and now an African-born black woman.

■ Sapurmurat Niyamzov, President of Turkmenistan, and Turkmenbashi, Father of All Turkmen, has dedicated 2003 to the memory of his mother, the Mother of the Father of All Turkmen. Her grandchildren will no doubt feel moved (not to say obliged) to congratulate her son on this occasion.

■ The 2003 North American International Auto Show opened to the public in Detroit on Saturday, January 11. In the first seven days, attendance was over 700,000. The last Saturday of the show, January 18, was expected to break all attendance records, with well over 100,000 people paying $12 a head to see

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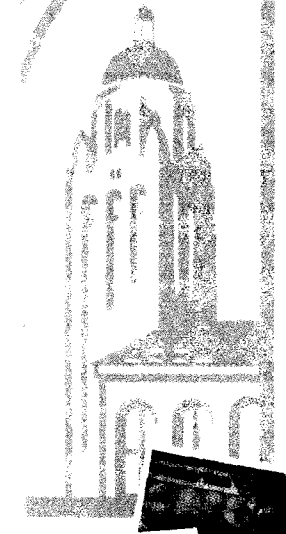
United States: More Is Better!

Scott W. Atlas, M.D.,
a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and a professor of radiology and chief of neuroradiology at the Stanford University Medical Center.



Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

The past decade has seen dramatic changes in the U.S. health care marketplace. More than two-thirds of patients in the United States are now enrolled in managed-care networks administered by conglomerate, cost-concerned managed-care bureaucracies. Despite managed care, however, health care costs have continued to rise—placing expensive new medical technologies at risk in discussions of containing health care costs.

Although the United States is leading the world into a new era in medicine with the convergence of advances in molecular biology, medical imaging, and minimally invasive diagnosis and therapy, a trend toward non-state-of-the-art technologies is directly correlated with the degree of managed-care penetration. We must realize that **reducing the availability of advanced medical technology will drastically affect our high standard of health care.**

A recent study by researchers at Dartmouth claims that the more subspecialties in health care, the more expensive the care, without significant benefits to the patient. These flawed conclusions received widespread news coverage and conveyed the dangerous implication that the linchpins of the United States health care system—subspecialty care and its associated advanced technology—are simply wastes of money.

Why are such studies misleading? Because the patient outcome measured is patient mortality, which is easily quantified by researchers despite its gross oversimplification of the end point. Most medical researchers agree that more subtle and complex parameters, such as quality of life, more relevantly assess the effects of sophisticated medical care. Indeed, **when experienced subspecialists perform complex medical procedures, numerous studies show improved outcomes.** Similarly, advanced medical imaging technologies may or may not influence mortality statistics, yet more rapid diagnosis using noninvasive, pain-free, and cost-effective methods is an important advantage.

Oversimplifying a complex issue can be dangerous. The widespread publicity generated by the Dartmouth study indicates the highly charged issue of expensive health care in the United States. The rising costs of health care, most of which are a result of technological advances, cannot continue to be tolerated by the current system. Yet technological innovation defined American medicine in the twentieth century. Leading-edge technology, and, more important, access to it, is often cited as the key difference between U.S. and other health care systems. Moreover, it is naïve to think that the uses of specialized medical technologies are best determined by generalists (a point well understood by the medical community).

The United States has the most sophisticated health care in the world. Advances in medical technology, which are essential to improving medical diagnoses and developing new therapies, are expensive and demand highly developed knowledge at the subspecialist level. Because we lead and teach the world the newest advances in medicine, we must sustain the commitment to new medical technologies and subspecialty care. Any proposals to contain health care costs need to ensure the continued development of medical technology.

— Scott W. Atlas, M.D.

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the latest SUVs. That Saturday was also the day of the anti-war rally in Washington, D.C. Exact figures for attendance at the rally were hard to come by, but 70,000 was the highest count of peaceniks on offer from any responsible source. Nice to know the American people have their priorities right.

■ On January 17, hundreds of gays and bikers converged on Washington for the 33rd annual Mid-Atlantic Leather Weekend, sponsored by the Centaur Motorcycle Club and open to any individual with "a pronounced interest in leather." This year, however, fetishists were met at the door by representatives from People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, who dressed in "pleather," a rubberlike synthetic, and urged members to seek "cruelty-free" ways of indulging their passion—an alternative alternative lifestyle, if you will. "You can have just as sleazy a look without killing any animals," explained gay PETA activist Dan Mathews. "They're just an unthinking crowd when it comes to this issue." But leather fans remained unconvinced. Asked if he would consider giving up black leather, participant Norman Wagner responded: "Why would I? I'm six foot three and 230 pounds, and I can wear anything I want to."

■ The really disagreeable thing about Hollywood lefties is not so much their silly opinions as the ill grace and venom with which, all too often, they choose to express them. Matinee idol George Clooney illustrates the point. Having now definitely graduated from TV (*E.R.*) to big-ticket movies (*The Perfect Storm*, *Ocean's Eleven*), Clooney wants to deliver himself of some thoughts about the state of the nation and the world. Fair enough, but see how he goes about it. Accepting something called the "Special Filmmaking Achievement Award" from the National Board of Review, Clooney extruded the following little witticism: "Charlton Heston announced again today that he is suffering from Alzheimer's." Nice. Asked by gossipeuse Liz Smith if perhaps he had gone too far, Clooney replied: "I don't care. Charlton Heston is the head of the National Rifle Association. He deserves whatever anyone says about him." Clooney, Ms. Smith adds helpfully, is a keen crusader for gun control. But not, apparently, for the principle of civil discourse between mutually respectful adults.

■ The actress Jessica Lange is one of the marquee names in the anti-war movement. She prefers to work in Europe, and among her sayings on that continent are, "I hate Bush. I despise him and his entire administration—not only because of its international policy, but also the national. Today it [everything, apparently] makes me feel ashamed to come from the United States. It is humiliating." Well, some of us saw Jessica Lange in *A Streetcar Named Desire*, in London. And, you know? She was *so* bad, it made us feel ashamed to come from the United States. Humiliated, even.

■ The half-life of the Clinton scandals continues to be calibrated, as they decay into smaller scandals and paragraphs in The Week. One of the more infamous pardons handed down by Clinton in his final days was that of Almon Glenn Braswell, who bought Clinton's favor by means of a $200,000 gift to Hugh Rodham, brother of Hillary. It does not appear that the newly pardoned herbal-remedy magnate cared much for the clean slate: Braswell was recently arrested for evading $13.4 million in corporate and personal income taxes. And so the Clinton legacy endures.

■ It's not a bad idea to expose high-school students to good writing whenever the chance arises. Passages from excellent writers have been used on New York State Regents' Examinations. Not leaving a good thing alone, state officials were found last June to be doctoring the passages for political correctness. Passages from Chekhov and Isaac Bashevis Singer were altered to remove references to race, ethnicity, religion, and even alcohol. Parents spotted this malpractice and raised a hullabaloo. Officials vowed never to do it again. But, political correctness being in the nature of a cultural imperative in such circles, yes they did, in the very next set of exams. They butchered a passage from Kafka and sanitized one from Aldous Huxley because it referred to the dilatory habits of "Orientals." The truth is that virtually every good writer before just about yesterday offends political correctness, especially Shakespeare, Dante, Faulkner, Hemingway, and Fitzgerald. Better get a new set of education officials.

■ Saint Francis is, of course, the patron saint of animals. He spoke to the birds and befriended the savage wolf. It is therefore to be expected that the U.S. city named after him should be especially attentive to the rights of our furred, feathered, and scaly friends. Thus, San Francisco's Board of Supervisors has passed an ordinance creating the term "pet guardian," to be used by people too enlightened to say "pet owner." A spokesman for Mayor Willie Brown said that the mayor would not sign the bill, because it is silly. Good for Mayor Brown—but since when was the San Francisco Board of Supervisors deterred from any course of action on grounds of silliness?

■ Improbable though it is, a word needs to be written in defense of film stars. This year the Golden Globe award, dis-

Great Expectations

In California, red ink flows
So fluidly, it tints the toes
Of voters from the Golden Gate
To Baja's border. Such a fate
Should spawn revulsion for a gov
Who, in a brownout, loved to shove
Big bucks as if tomorrow were
Forever mothballed with Ben-Hur.

—W. H. von Dreele

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tributed annually by the foreign press in Hollywood, overlooked Catherine Zeta-Jones in the musical *Chicago* and landed instead in the slender anorexic lap of her co-star Renée Zellweger. Here and elsewhere Zellweger is a very talented actress. But as Stephen Hunter wrote in the *Washington Post*, "She just doesn't have the It-thing going to the temperature of La Zeta-Jones, and at the end, when director Rob Marshall contrives to put the two of them onstage together belting out the razzle-dazzle number, you'll have to force yourself to look at Zellweger. (I tried but couldn't.)" Nor could we. In short, Ms. Zeta-Jones is a great big beautiful movie star—and the foreign critics at least think that just isn't good enough. A notion has emerged in recent years that stardom is inferior to acting. A star plays himself in every movie; an actor can transmigrate into innumerable roles. Think of Cary Grant in *Bringing Up Baby* and *Penny Serenade*, however, and that notion dissolves into absurdity. Grant did indeed play himself in film after film—as did John Wayne, James Stewart, Gary Cooper, Marlene Dietrich, and Greta Garbo—and it was a great part. It required accomplished acting in almost every vein except the tragic. And the fact that we could not take our eyes off Grant on screen meant that he could not veer even a millimeter out of whatever character his personality had taken over. Ms. Zeta-Jones is every inch the cheap speakeasy vamp in *Chicago*. And when you consider that she really is a great big beautiful movie star, that is acting worthy of Bernhardt.

■ The legacy of Argentine general Leopoldo Galtieri is the continuing existence of the Falkland Islands, an outpost of British shepherds in the South Atlantic. In the normal course of things, a budget-conscious homeland would probably have let this imperial sliver pass to the Argentines who, like the Spaniards before them, have long claimed it. But Gen. Galtieri's invasion of it in 1982, when he was the leader of Argentina's junta, and his stinging defeat by Margaret Thatcher, will keep the Falklands in the Anglosphere for decades to come. Gen. Galtieri was also a drunkard, who was complicit in the murder of thousands of his people—a negative trifecta. R.I.P.

■ The long dark night of Soviet domination over Eastern Europe had at least one good result: It gave the West some of her most outspoken champions of liberty. Such a one was Balint Vazsonyi, who died on January 17. Born in Budapest in 1936, Vazsonyi was a gifted pianist who seemed set fair for a career on the concert stage when his country fell to Communism in 1948. Kept back from performance opportunities by his "incorrect" attitude, he finally escaped during the 1956 uprising, arriving in the U.S. three years later. After years as a successful pianist and teacher, Vazsonyi was shocked into political activity by the sight of leftist protesters on his Bloomington, Ind., campus at the time of the 1991 Gulf War. He quickly developed a potent political philosophy based on what he called "the four points of the compass": the rule of law, individual rights, the guarantee of property, and a common American identity. In 1996 Vazsonyi formed the Center for the American Founding, dedicated to keeping alive and propagating the fundamental principles of American governance. His 1998 book *America's 30 Years War: Who Is Winning?* was a spirited assault on group identities, class warfare, multiculturalism, and the rest of the left-liberal pharmacopoeia. Vazsonyi carried forward the book's themes in a regular column for the *Washington Times*. A wonderful musician, a great patriot, valiant for truth—his voice will be missed. R.I.P.

AT WAR

An Ominous Drift

THE ominous feeling of drift in American foreign policy at the moment is, we hope, the product of the fizzling out of two failed policies: inspections in Iraq and appeasement of North Korea. The time for President Bush to separate his administration from these policies is quickly approaching, especially in the case of Iraq. If he does not, the consequences for America's standing in the world and for his own presidency will be grave.

The case against renewed inspections in Iraq was always strong. Indeed, Bush administration officials have in the past made the case themselves. Inspections were designed to verify that cooperative states were complying with international standards, not to ferret out the truth from recalcitrant regimes. As Vice President Cheney noted last fall, we have learned more about Iraqi weapons programs from defectors than from inspections. David Kay, former nuclear inspector for the United Nations, has said that the only "inspections regime" that would work in Iraq would be indistinguishable from an occupation.

If the inspections of the 1990s were dubious, the current round of them is even more so. For one thing, the Iraqi regime has had years to arm and to hide its weapons. For another, the chief inspector today, Hans Blix, is a man who is unwilling to report bluntly about Iraq's weapons offenses, since that might prompt the West to go to war. Indeed, he was chosen for his job by Baghdad's patrons in the U.N. for that very reason. Blix is now acting as though his chief imperatives were bureaucratic, and no revelation—the discovery of undeclared chemical warheads being the latest example—seems likely to jolt him from this mode. He wants more staff and he wants his mission to extend further into the future, perhaps indefinitely.

The administration knew that going to the U.N. and resuming inspections was a risky course, one that could build international support for its campaign to overthrow the Iraqi regime but that could also bog it down. The latter possibility is now coming to pass. None of our allies is going to commit to action when we ourselves appear to hang back. Allowing Blix to continue his work beyond the January 27 report to the Security Council stipulated in Resolution 1441 would be an unacceptable concession to further delay and inaction. If the U.N. balks at action at that point, the action will have to take place without it.

The situation in North Korea is undeniably alarming. The Bush administration says that it is willing to discuss aid and a non-aggression pact and that it does not contemplate using

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military force. Thus is provocation rewarded, and invited.

Several points may be adduced in Bush's defense. Foremost among them is that the troop build-up in the Gulf continues, and perhaps Blix's meanderings provide the time to complete it. The administration has also cut off aid to North Korea, and is seeking to build international support for sanctions on it. For every worrying rhetorical feint, there is a tougher one—President Bush's complaint that Iraq has had "ample time" to disarm being one of the latter. Finally, the administration can reasonably plead that, especially in the case of North Korea, it has no good options.

Removing our troops from the peninsula might force China and South Korea to confront the regime, and the mere possibility of it may already have improved relations between Seoul and Washington. But actually going through with it, now, would be interpreted by everyone as a huge reward for Pyongyang. Going to war with North Korea could involve massive casualties, and neither the public nor our allies may have the stomach for simultaneous engagements with two regimes. (Whether we have the military resources to fight Iraq and North Korea at the same time is a different question. Everyone in Washington seems to be worried about that except, oddly, for the Pentagon.)

It should not surprise us that a happy course of action is hard to find. One of the marks of bad policy, of the sort that Clinton bequeathed to Bush in North Korea, is that it narrows our options to the unpalatable. But that is all the more reason not to continue such policy. The goal of the U.S. on the Korean peninsula should not be cutting another deal with Pyongyang, in which support for the regime is exchanged for more empty promises, but ending the totalitarian government there. At the very least, the use of force has to be put back on the table.

Temporizing has its place in international politics. The administration can be forgiven for it as it continues the build-up around Iraq and—one hopes—formulates a new North Korea policy. But temporizing also, needless to say, has its limits. President Bush famously said that "time is not on our side," and thus implicitly is on the side of the axis. We have often reminded him of those words, while also deferring to some extent to his judgment. But the hour is getting late.

THE LAW

Negative Reaction

AFTER months of debate inside his administration, President Bush decided to split the difference on racial preferences. At issue was whether the administration would submit a legal brief stating its position as the Supreme Court considered whether it was permissible for the University of Michigan to admit black and Hispanic students under easier standards than it applies to everyone else. Bush decided to submit a brief condemning the university's de facto quota. But the brief also said that "diversity" was a legitimate governmental goal. The university was, to be sure, required to try colorblind methods of achieving diversity. The brief offered the example of Texas's policy of automatically admitting the top 10 percent of any high-school class in the state to a state university. This "Texas solution," variants of which are also in place in Florida and California, increases the number of blacks and Hispanics on campus without engaging in any formal racial discrimination.

If these race-neutral methods do not "work"—that is, if they do not yield the desired numbers of blacks and Hispanics—are state universities then to be allowed to discriminate among applicants according to their race? Bush and his brief were silent on this point. The only members of his administration who spoke up on the subject were Condoleezza Rice and Colin Powell, with the former approving of discrimination when nothing else would "work" and the latter approving even the University of Michigan's practices.

Most conservatives criticized the administration. On our back page, David Frum defends it by arguing that a nuanced brief is necessary to sway Justices Sandra Day O'Connor and Anthony Kennedy. Frum assumes that these justices are looking for a brief they find congenial. But it may be more plausible to assume that they are looking for a political signal. They want to know what position will be considered mainstream. President Bush has just sent them a signal: A conservative president does not think that he can afford to stand unambiguously for colorblindness. The odds that the justices will also fudge their position have therefore increased.

The result could be that "diversity" attains a higher legal status than it has ever had before. The Supreme Court has previously held that the only possible justification for race-conscious admissions is to remedy past discrimination. Only one justice, in one case, has said that diversity can justify racial preferences (and then only if it proves to have educational value). The former justification, while debatable, is at least limited. Discrimination to achieve diversity, on the other hand, is pretty close to being discrimination for its own sake—and discrimination forever. If the administration had decided what to say about this case based on the legal merits, its brief would have looked very different. It would have said that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 forbids state universities from engaging in racial discrimination, whether to achieve diversity or for some other goal, whether as the first resort or the last.

As a policy matter, the Texas solution is no solution at all. It undermines merit more than racial preferences do. At least a preferential policy allowed colleges to apply meritocratic standards within each race. Under the Texas solution, one Hispanic student loses out to another merely because the rejected student went to a more academically challenging high school. Besides, once the administration has accepted that the goal of the Texas solution is to engineer a "diverse student body," liberal critics will notice that it does not do this job as well as preferences do. If it is okay to count by race at the end of the process, why not at the beginning?

If President Bush stood foursquare against state-sponsored discrimination, he would have a bitter fight on his hands. He clearly does not relish this, even though the public would be on his side in the fight. Instead, his dodge has ensured that he will again and again be forced to clarify what he means. Subsequent litigation will present the same question in different form. Can

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this preference program stand? Can this one? Each time, the stakes will be just as high, the so-called "civil rights groups" just as ready to accuse Bush of "turning back the clock."

We believe that racial preferences are immoral, both in themselves and in the duplicity that they seem to require; that they are a distraction from the task of helping blacks and Hispanics to make it in non-rigged academic and economic competitions; and that they add to America's racial strife. We would abolish state-sponsored racial discrimination in university admissions, in government contracting, and in private-sector employment. (The current "disparate impact" standard in the law treats companies as presumptively guilty of racial discrimination if their employees do not have the "correct" racial composition.)

Very few of these preferences have been enacted legislatively. Many of them contradict laws on the books. When the public has had a chance to vote on preferences, as in the referenda in California in 1996 and Washington state in 1998, color-blindness wins handily. The president does not want to fight about preferences, and the chief political response that Tom Daschle can think to make is to submit a Democratic brief to the Supreme Court. But this issue has been the playpen of legal elites for long enough. The failure of the political class to engage the issue of preferences, openly and without evasion, is a retreat from democracy.

THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

Beasts and Slaves

The anti-war demonstration in Washington, D.C., showed the debasement of the Left. The *New York Times* characterized "many" of the marchers as "skeptical and frustrated citizens," who belonged to no organized group. No doubt that is true, even as it is true that most of the people who watch a bull fight are not matadors.

But the organizers are another matter. ANSWER (Act Now to Stop War and End Racism), which the *Washington Post* called an "activist coalition," is in fact a front for the Workers World party, a Trotskyite cult that split from the Socialist Workers party in order to endorse the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956. The WWP thus managed to embrace both Trotskyism and Stalinism—a neat trick. Half a century later, they are still in the streets, trying to fasten onto any convenient cause, while the same useful idiots (Jesse Jackson, Al Sharpton, Jessica Lange) are willing to march along with them.

The rhetoric of the anti-war Left reeks with the formaldehyde of irrelevance. How will supporting Iraq end racism? (Saddam is notoriously tough on his minorities.) Demonstrators repeated the mantra that Bush was going to war for the

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sake of oil. Yet the Middle East supplies a shrinking share of the world oil market, and . . . But never mind, it's not worth debating. Some antiwarriors in San Francisco have remade Lyndon Johnson's poisonous 1964 "Daisy" commercial, which accused Barry Goldwater of risking Armageddon. At least in 1964 there were two nuclear-armed superpowers. The point of threatening Iraq now is to make sure that it never becomes one.

It was wicked for an earlier generation of leftists to ally themselves, tacitly or proudly, with Communist powers. But Communism used a universalist rhetoric that could lull the seriously inattentive. Nowadays the anti-war Left finds itself allied with regimes whose only claim to our attention is their thuggery. Saddam Hussein (and Kim Jong Il—wait for the demonstrations in his behalf) have no intelligible ideology, no goal beyond survival and oppression. Yet the American Left embraces them. Not, primarily, because they admire their societies, though Iraq and North Korea express a will to power that must speak to a similar urge in them. The Left supports them in order to hate America—its system, its leaders, its power; after 9/11, its dead. The anti-war leftists are slaves, in bed with beasts. The "skeptical and frustrated citizens" who march with them shirk the responsibilities of rational advocacy.

■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Dear Bill: Thanks for defending me against Julian Schmidt (Nov. 25). Please inform his world that medical terminology is easy once you learn that the root words seldom change, only their suffixes. For example, the suffix -orraphy means repair of, as in *herniorraphy;* -ectomy means removal of, as in *appendectomy;* -itis means inflammation of, as in *tonsillitis,* or, as in this case, *tendonitis.*

It would be all right for Mr. Schmidt to write of a fictive doctor who had tendonitis and tonsillitis but still managed to do an appendectomy, tonsillectomy, and herniorraphy at the same time, but don't let him near you.

Best,
Jim [James C. Neely, M.D.]
Napa, Calif.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Re your request (Nov. 25) that I "advise" if I had a point other than my objection to the spelling of tendinitis as "tendonitis": You bet.

As a quidditative conservative, I'll have to be dragged kicking and screaming into compliance with yet another vitiated principle. In the olden days of *Webster's Second,* even *Third,* "tendinitis" (the etymology being an inflammation of tendinous tissue, not merely of a tendon) was the only approved spelling, and by *stare decisis* it still is.

Altering a single letter can alter a definition, and that sets in motion a Gresham's law that eventuates in such syncretisms as *Roe* v. *Wade*; the interpretation of our Constitution only in terms of rights, not government's limits nor individual responsibilities; and a pondering of what the definition of "is" is.

All I'm trying to do is hold the line against insidious revisionism. Instead, I fear I'm being regarded as nothing more than a lone, marginalized misoneist. At least may I have a comforting pat on the head?

Respectfully, and kindly,
Julian Schmidt
Treynor, Iowa

Dear Mr. Schmidt: You have the heartiest pat on the back I can administer, without risking tendonitis.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: The Week for Oct. 28 contained the following: "The punitive damages were thus 33,000 times greater than . . ." This is similar to the common expression "three times more (greater, larger, faster, smaller, slower, etc.) than." I contend that if A is two and B is three times A, then B is six. If B is "three times more" than A, then B is eight. Your thoughts?

Sincerely,
Carl Phillips
Sebring, Fla.

Dear Mr. Phillips: My thoughts are—but I am blushing for NR.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Metaphors are fine, but wouldn't "democracy miscarries" be more suitable than "democracy sucks" in your column "The Pot War Boiling" (Nov. 25), which apart from its ugly sound, has unpleasant denotations and connotations?

Respectfully,
Kalman I. Nulman
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Nulman: Yes. On the other hand, if you wish the word to connote unpleasant thoughts, then it is right, no?

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Recently I began reading your novel *The Redhunter.* I am sorry to say that I never finished it because the language became unbearably offensive. At first I just ignored the swearwords, but when I came across the F-word I simply had to put the book down. I would love to try one of your other novels. Have you written anything with G- or PG-rated language that you would recommend to a teen conservative? Is there a censored version of *The Redhunter*?

Michael Streeter
Tucson, Ariz.

Dear Michael: A novelist's responsibilities include the reproduction of language as spoken. When you are past your teens, consult *Webster's Third,* which faced reality in this matter. *Be careful not to read* Saving the Queen! It is actually *done* in that novel, even if not spoken.

Cordially,

—WFB

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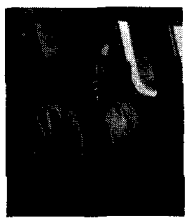

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■ POLITICS ■

A Man with a Plan

Bush has an economic program; his critics have myths

STEPHEN MOORE

THE new Bush tax cut has been greeted with a level of media hysteria unrivaled since 1981, when the press corps predicted in unison that Reaganomics would cause economic ruin. So President Bush finds himself in all-too-familiar territory: It's two against one, with Democrats ganging up with the media against a Republican president's tax cut that's said to be too big, too tilted toward the rich, and too irresponsible.

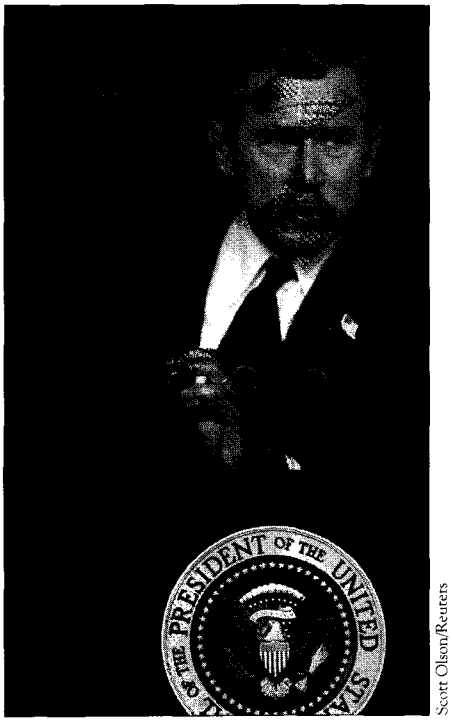
I like Bush's odds of winning.

The challenge, though, is for the White House to get its message—that the tax cut will boost economic growth and benefit *all* taxpaying families—through the clutter of a biased media. The indispensable Media Research Center reports that "news" items on the Bush plan are running "at least 4 to 1" against it. Only one reporter on the network news has even bothered to inform viewers that the tax share paid by the rich would go up, not down, if the plan were enacted.

In some cases, the media can't even get their own biased version straight. On January 6, the day news of the Bush plan reached the public, the *Washington Post* warned in a front-page article (entitled "Analysis Finds Little Gain in Tax Cut Plan") that many economists believe the tax cut is too small to jump-start economic growth. That's a plausible complaint; but the next day, the *Post* blasted the tax cut for being too "irresponsible."

This unfocused media scorn suggests that Bush may be on to something here. His plan has attracted all the right enemies (from Tom Daschle to Dan Rather to Paul Krugman) but also all the right friends: It is being welcomed enthusiastically by the 85 million American shareholders, who understand that supply-side tax cuts mean more wealth creation and more income security for retirement. The day that the Bush plan was announced, the stock market had one of its most bullish sessions in months. A sustained rally would be very welcome news for the investor class, which has surrendered more than $5 trillion in wealth in the current bear market—but very bad news for the Democratic presidential wannabes.

Mr. Moore is president of the Club for Growth and an economist at the Cato Institute.



Scott Olson/Reuters

Unveiling the tax-cut package

What is most needed to win passage of this plan is a tax-cut truth squad. I've pored through the media attacks of recent weeks against the Bush plan and have arranged the protests into three categories.

Myth One: The tax cut benefits only the rich. Paul Krugman of the *New York Times* declares that "90 percent of Americans . . . will get little or nothing from the dividend tax exemption." But the Tax Foundation's recent examination of IRS tax-return data finds just the opposite: Fully *34 million* tax filers reported dividend income in 2000—and these returns represent 71 million people. That means a whole lot more than 10 percent of the population will benefit *directly* from the dividend-tax cut. And the income-tax cuts are even more widely distributed: *Everyone who pays income taxes will get an income-tax cut under the Bush plan.* The typical working family with two earners and a combined income of $75,000—and I suspect very few of these households regard themselves as "rich"—will get a $2,021-a-year tax cut under the Bush plan. If the family's income is $40,000, it gets a $1,133 tax cut—and not just for one year, as under the Democratic alternative, but forever.

And here is the biggest problem for class warriors: Proportionately, the rich get a *smaller* share of the Bush tax-cut pie than do middle-class taxpayers. The share of federal income taxes paid by Americans who make more than $100,000 a year will rise (from 74 percent to 75 percent). The share paid by those who make less than a six-figure income will decline.

Myth Two: The tax cut will blow a hole in the deficit. The Bush tax cut provides $670 billion in tax relief for Americans over the next ten years. That's not chump change, but it is hardly going to bankrupt the federal treasury either. Over the next decade the IRS will collect some $25 trillion in taxes. The tax cut comes to less than three cents on the dollar, hardly a massive giveaway.

Nor is it accurate to say that the national debt will rise by the amount of the tax cut, unless one believes that tax cuts result in absolutely zero change in economic behavior. The truth is that for every action in the economy, there is a reaction. If we cut income-tax rates and eliminate the double tax on dividends, surely workers, businesses, and investors will behave differently. If the tax on work and hiring goes down, surely we will get more of both. If the dividend tax cut drives down the cost of investment, surely we will get more of that too.

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The press continues to tout the results of economic models that have a perfect batting record of being wrong in predicting the future. For example, in 1997, when the capital-gains tax rate was cut, the crystal-ball gazers predicted a multibillion-dollar "cost" to the Treasury; in fact, the receipts doubled in four years. These are precisely the same economic models that are now telling us the Bush tax cut will bankrupt America.

Heritage Foundation economist Bill Beach predicts that the dividend tax cut alone is such potent medication for the economy that the Treasury should recapture about 50 to 70 percent of the supposed tax revenue loss from the tax cut. I'd put my money on Beach's estimates, which have a far better track record of accuracy.

■

The Republicans' wisest strategy going forward is to proceed precisely as Reagan did in 1981.

■

But let us assume the worst-case scenario: no revenue recapture whatsoever from the Bush tax cut. Even in that extreme case, we could still have a balanced budget. If Congress were to modestly control its appetite for new spending—restraining it to 2 percent annual growth over the next four years—the budget could be balanced by 2006 even if the tax plan were implemented fully.

Another reason to suspect that the Bush tax cut will not run up the deficit is that if the taxes aren't cut it is much more likely that Congress will spend the money than save it. Nobel Prize winner Milton Friedman notes that one of the strongest arguments for the Bush tax cut is that it will discourage a stampede of congressional spending over the next several years. Friedman wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* that he supports Bush's plan because "we do not get our money's worth from the roughly 40 percent of our income that is spent by government. . . . Washington spends whatever it receives in taxes plus as much more as it can get away with."

Myth Three: The tax cut won't stimulate economic growth or job creation. On this, Bush has history firmly on his side. The 1963 Kennedy income-tax-rate reductions spurred a bull market, and a balanced budget by 1969. The 1981 Reagan tax cuts ushered in seven years of prosperity and 15 million new jobs. The 1997 capital-gains cut fueled a bull-market rally, and a surge of investment and venture-capital funding for new businesses.

The critics point out that the 2001 Bush tax cut has failed to provide any juice for the economy, but there's a good reason for that: Seventy percent of the tax cuts haven't taken effect yet. The critics are strengthening the case for *speeding up* the tax cuts. The dividend tax cut, in particular, will provide rocket fuel for business expansion: John Rutledge, a respected Wall Street economist, has estimated that ending the double tax on dividends will increase stock values by some $800 billion (roughly 10 percent), reduce businesses' cost of raising investment capital by 25 percent, and hasten a recovery in the battered high-technology and telecom industries (where hundreds of thousands of jobs have been lost).

The Democratic plan, on the other hand, offers virtually no economic-growth potential at all: It contains $30 billion in new spending programs, temporary and impotent tax cuts, and another tax-rebate gimmick. It would stimulate nothing but government. Tax rebates will have no economic incentive effects whatsoever; that's why they failed to induce an economic revival under President Ford, and even under President Bush (in 2001).

All of this suggests that Bush has a winning hand—but he must play it. In fact, Chicago-based economist Brian Wesbury says that because the financial markets have already partially discounted passage of a tax cut similar to what the White House has proposed, for the president to retreat from the plan could de-stimulate the economy and deflate the stock market. That's precisely why Bush should ignore the chorus of criticisms. The Republicans' wisest strategy going forward is to proceed precisely as Reagan did in 1981, when the media went into similar convulsions: ignore them, pass the program, and prove the critics wrong. **NR**

■ **POLITICS II** ■

Tell It!

A Republican outreach program to black voters

RAMESH PONNURU

ELEVEN days after a midterm election that went disastrously for her party, Donna Brazile, Al Gore's campaign manager, sent out a memo warning that worse news could be coming. As badly as 2002 had gone, she and a colleague said, at least black voters had turned out in force for the Democrats. Republicans, however, had made an "unprecedented African American communications effort" on black radio stations during the campaign. Democrats were going to face new challenges in 2003 and 2004. "Pre-eminent among those challenges," the two wrote, was "Republican messaging to Democratic base voters."

The memo implied that this "messaging" was the work of the Republican party. Actually, it was a small independent consultancy that conceived and designed the radio ads. The main people behind it were Richard Nadler and John Uhlmann, two conservative activists from Kansas City. (Nadler is an old friend of mine.) In 2001 and 2002, they tried a new tactic for dealing with one of the Republican party's longstanding problems: its poor showing among black and Hispanic voters. That tactic has already had more success than anything the party has tried.

Most Republicans are unaware of this success. They are obsessed with winning votes from blacks and Hispanics, especially in the wake of the Lott affair. But when it comes to doing anything about it, they just flail around. Republican senator Orrin Hatch is planning to introduce legislation against "hate crimes." RNC chairman Marc Racicot and Senate majority leader Bill Frist came out of a meeting with prominent black conservatives pledging that Republicans would hire more black aides and field more black candidates. In short, the party despairs of ever actu-

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ally winning votes from blacks but thinks it ought to go through the motions of trying.

Nobody can really believe that any of the ideas being discussed in Washington will work. Black voters won't (and shouldn't) care how many blacks are working in the offices of leading House Republicans. And black Republican candidates have a dismal record of winning blacks' votes.

Changing the party's message—whether making it more liberal or more conservative—would fail, too. As Nadler and I pointed out in NATIONAL REVIEW two years ago ("The Simplest 'Outreach,'" March 23, 2001), Republicans aren't running on the wrong issues in black America; they have no issues in black America. Republicans almost never run political advertising on media that black voters patronize. Instead, black voters are endlessly told that the Democrats are fighting for all things good while the Republicans want to put them in leg irons, take away their voting rights, and make it easier for bigots to kill them.

When Nadler and Uhlmann started their project, they asked pollster Kellyanne Conway to measure black hostility to Republicans. Conway found, unsurprisingly, that more black people favor missile defense, oppose abortion, and want tax cuts than vote Republican. Yet Republicans were losing even on these issues. When asked which party they trusted to protect the unborn, cut taxes, and strengthen defense, blacks picked Democrats.

For Nadler and Uhlmann, the gap between blacks' (and Hispanics') policy views and their party preferences amounted to a political opportunity. They formed an organization, Access Communications Group (ACG), to produce ads to be used on radio stations and TV shows that blacks or Hispanics watched in large numbers. The ads were meant to identify the Republicans with positive conservative issues (as opposed to lynching). The goal was to get more of the viewers and listeners to identify themselves as Republicans.

Here's the script of a typical ad:

> Democrats say they give us more. Ain't that the truth. They give us more sales tax. They give us more gas tax. They tax my home, they tax my phone, they tax my smokes . . . They even tax my dog. I've got a new program for you Democrats: Stop attacking me with your taxes. Let me and my family keep more of the cash I work 40 hours a week to earn. In the meantime, I'm voting Republican.

The spots covered the full range of Republican positions, not just "minority issues." There were ads on defense, on Social Security, on abortion, on the president's faith-based initiative, and on the battle over the confirmation of Bush judicial nominee Miguel Estrada.

■

The gap between blacks' policy views and their party preferences amounts to a political opportunity.

■

Some spots did, however, present these issues as having special relevance for minorities, and a few even played the race card. A commercial about Estrada ended with the words, "What's wrong with Latino judges serving in our highest courts? Do Democrats have a problem with this?" Another commercial popularized the argument that Social Security shortchanges blacks as a retirement program (or, in the words of the ad, is "reverse reparations").

The ads made their debut in a June 2001 special election for a U.S. House seat in a Virginia district with a 30 percent black population. Republican Randy Forbes narrowly won the race, and some of the election returns suggested that he had done a little better among black voters than expected. Ads run later that year in Atlantic County, N.J., also seemed to have a positive effect. In 2002, ACG was able to run around $900,000 in ads in 14 markets.

Did the ads work? Yes and no, but mainly yes. The ads didn't increase the percentage of blacks or Hispanics who identified themselves as Republicans, a disappointment to everyone involved. They did, however, marginally increase the percentage who voted for Republicans. In Pitt and Lenoir counties in North Carolina, where the ads didn't run, Senate candidate Elizabeth Dole got a slightly smaller percentage of black votes than George W. Bush had in 2000. In Hoke County, where the ads ran, she got 17 percent of the black vote to Bush's 14. (That's right in line with the average three-point effect of the program.)

But the largest effect of the ads was to keep many blacks and Hispanics who would otherwise have voted Democratic from voting at all. Where the ads ran, minority turnout fell—more than turnout fell generally, and more than minority turnout fell where the ads did not run. In Hoke County, the ads caused the Democrats' margin among black voters to fall 30 percent.

Nadler's hypothesis is that the ad campaign disrupted the Democratic turnout machine. In 1998 and 2000, Democrats had been able to increase black turnout by promoting hysteria about the consequences of Republican victories. The ads forced a change in the Democrats' script. They had to respond to them by claiming that vouchers and individual accounts for Social Security are scams. No doubt they won those arguments, as far as most black voters were concerned. But every minute spent warning against "privatization" was also a minute not spent talking about Republican racism. The new, more complicated Democratic message could not motivate as many people to the polls as the old one had.

While the Right didn't pay much attention to the ads, the Left did. Liberal magazines and newspapers wrote several negative stories about them. The critics were given an opening when a deal between ACG and GOPAC, a Republican activist group, went sour. (GOPAC objected to the reverse-reparations ad.) The thrust of the stories was that the ads were designed to "suppress the black vote"—which is also how Brazile characterizes them.

If it's "voter suppression" to persuade black voters not to cast ballots for Democrats, then ACG is certainly guilty. Raul Damas, who serves on the group's advisory board and translated some of the scripts for the Spanish-language ads, thinks that damaging the Democrats' reputation among minorities is a prerequisite for getting them to vote Republican. "This is going to be a step-by-step process," he says. "The first

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step is to get them to loosen their ties to the Democrats."

It's not clear that Republicans will learn from ACG's success. In the Senate runoff election in Louisiana, they allowed the standard Democratic campaign among blacks to proceed undisturbed. The result: a massive increase in black support for Mary Landrieu that carried her to victory in December.

Nadler believes that a combination of guilt, cowardice, and a kind of prejudice inhibits Republicans from talking to black voters as they do to other voters. They gauge their progress by what they read in elite papers. If those papers are full of quotes from Jesse Jackson and the rest of the civil-rights establishment attacking them, they panic.

There will be many such quotes if the GOP makes a direct, unapologetic appeal to black voters. Most black voters won't like the ads. "If you tell people that the unanimous tradition of their teachers, relatives, and neighbors is wrong, you will anger a lot of them initially," says Nadler. "But this is the only way to convert the current monologue on race to a genuine dialogue."

By itself, following ACG's example is not going to win elections for Republicans, nor will it bring them a majority of the black or Hispanic vote. Nadler himself is quick to note that his ads worked best when candidates made their own appeals to minority voters.

Republicans often try to justify neglect of black voters by saying it's not worth the effort. Nadler estimates, however, that the ad campaign spent only $16 for every black vote and $27 for every Hispanic vote it took away from the Democrats. That's a pretty cheap investment, and it could make the difference in tight races. It may have made the difference for Jim Talent's Senate campaign in Missouri.

Donna Brazile certainly takes the tactic seriously. The memo she co-wrote concludes: "[O]ur efforts to expand the electorate [were] made more difficult by the Republican Black radio strategy. . . . In the absence of a significant response in Democratic strategy, Republican messaging to the base will make base voter continuity, not to mention expansion, very difficult for Democrats in 2003 and 2004." The lady is right to worry. **NR**

■ **PUBLIC POLICY** ■

Poor *and* Fat

A special problem in America

KATE O'BEIRNE

WHEN Bush budget officials recently reviewed the federal government's spending habits, they realized they weren't the only ones looking to trim some fat. Federal agencies, concerned with our eating habits, were proposing a host of initiatives aimed at fighting obesity; clearly, it isn't just the federal budget that needs a diet. About 60 percent of Americans are overweight, to such an extent that they risk health problems; 20 percent of us are obese; and 5 million Americans meet the criteria for being identified as morbidly so. With rates of excess weight and obesity highest among low-income households, budget officials should be asking themselves why tens of billions of dollars are being spent each year by federal nutrition programs aimed at boosting food consumption by the poor.

That's the question Douglas Besharov of the American Enterprise Institute posed in a recent paper, "We're Feeding the Poor as if They're Starving." He examines the three major nutrition programs run by the Department of Agriculture and concludes that they are badly in need of modernization to meet the current need for *less* food consumption by large numbers of large low-income Americans.

The government spends about $35 billion a year on feeding the poor. The evidence that the rate of hunger in America is very small, while health experts now see the rate of obesity as an epidemic, prompted then-agriculture secretary Dan Glickman to say during the Clinton administration: "The simple fact is that more people die in the United States of too much food than of too little, and the habits that lead to this epidemic become ingrained at an early age." In his slim but alarming new book, *Fat Land*, Greg Critser declares, "Today Americans are the fattest people on the face of the earth (save for the inhabitants of a few South Sea islands)."

Critser explains that children are most at risk for obesity, with 25 percent of all children under the age of 19 overweight or obese, a rate double that of 30 years ago. The author cites a recent RAND/University of Chicago study, which found that "more Americans are obese than smoke, use illegal drugs, or suffer from ailments unrelated to obesity." He assigns part of the blame to fast-food outlets, arguing that they have super-sized us by super-sizing their portions.

In examining the effects of the government's nutrition programs on food consumption, Besharov begins with the biggest. The federal food-stamp program was designed to ensure that the poor don't spend money budgeted for food on other things; it now provides benefits to about 20 million people a month. (It was also designed to benefit farmers, by subsidizing the purchase of excess commodities.) According to Robert Rector of the Heritage Foundation, half of all food-stamp spending goes to individuals who receive benefits for over eight years. Government studies show that the program raises calorie consumption by as much as 10 percent. Since the coupons can't be spent on anything else, recipients wind up buying more food than they otherwise would. Turning the program into an unconditional cash grant would permit low-income families to make their own decisions about how much to spend on food. But, despite President Bush's recent declaration that "people on welfare are not charges of the state," the federal government—through the food-stamp program—remains intent on influencing their eating habits.

The federal government's school-based nutrition programs are responsible for a different kind of over-consumption. Federal regulations on the mandated caloric content of school meals date back to 1946, and were designed in response to studies of G.I.'s that alarmed officials about the incidence of youth malnutrition. Now, obesity is a far more prevalent problem among young people, but the feds still demand that school

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breakfast programs, which serve 8 million kids, provide 25 percent of the Recommended Dietary Allowance of calories, and that lunch provide fully a third of the daily allowance. For children who eat both meals at school, only 42 percent of the amount of calories they should have each day are left for snacks and dinner. Besharov notes that the 28 million school lunches served daily also typically exceed the standard for fat content, owing to portion sizes and poor preparation. He concludes that while fattening school meals might have made sense many years ago, with the federal government now providing other kinds of food assistance too, school meals should be simpler and smaller. "If a turkey sandwich with lettuce and tomato is good enough for me, why not for a school kid?" he asks.

In his analysis of how the federal government is contributing to the fat of the land, Besharov finally turns his attention to the third large food-assistance program run by Washington; this program too operates as though no other food program existed. The Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) was started in 1972 as a modest two-year pilot program, and now provides monthly food packages to more than 7 million women and children. A Bush budget official allows that the program's enrollment of half of all newborns, because they are allegedly at "nutritional risk," is a "shocking statistic." In addition to the controversy over the high-calorie, high-cholesterol monthly packages provided for one- to four-year-olds, WIC's provision of baby formula is also criticized: About 50 percent of all the infant formula bought in the U.S. is purchased with WIC dollars, and this may discourage breast-feeding by low-income mothers.

A review of the studies of the WIC program's nutritional benefits led Besharov to conclude: "The evidence about the effectiveness of almost 90 percent of the WIC program is limited and suggests only small to modest effects." In this year's budget, the Bush administration is launching a new WIC initiative aimed at boosting its effectiveness—at reducing obesity. Nutritional counseling is already part of the WIC program, and another $5 million will be spent on demonstration projects to test whether the program can teach pregnant women and mothers about good eating habits and the dangers of being overweight.

The clear and expensive dangers are highlighted in Critser's book. As one example, the author points to the striking increase in the incidence among children of type 2 diabetes, a chronic and potentially crippling disease. As recently as ten years ago, most pediatric-diabetes centers reported only 2 to 4 percent of their patients as suffering from type 2. Two years later, type 2 diabetes represented 16 percent of their cases, and in some parts of the country the incidence is now approaching about half. The American Medical Association estimates that 280,000 Americans die prematurely each year owing to obesity-related illnesses. The care and treatment of diabetes cost about $100 billion a year, and the majority of new cases are blamed on obesity. One in every four Medicare dollars is spent on treating diabetes.

By Roman Genn

With the problem of obesity becoming, well, too big to ignore, why does the government remain bent on boosting the amount of food its beneficiaries eat? Both Doug Besharov and Robert Rector finger liberal advocacy groups for thwarting reform. Despite the clear evidence that hunger in America is largely a relic of the past, there are a host of advocacy outfits in the business of hyping hunger. And it is a business. ConAgra Foods, "North America's second-largest food company," runs one of the campaigns devoted to exaggerating the incidence of child hunger. These groups all rely on a Department of Agriculture survey that measures something called "food insecurity"—a "meaningless" category, according to Rector. A full 10.7 percent of all U.S. households were labeled "food insecure" in 2001. Another survey, which Rector credits as a "pretty reasonable measure," found that only 3.3 percent of households experienced hunger in 2001; Rector says hunger is "declining rapidly and significantly."

Forty years ago, liberal poverty warriors argued that chronic malnutrition needed a federal cure. When it became hard to find poverty-related malnutrition, widespread hunger had to be addressed. Now, with the incidence of hunger in America real, but small and declining, "food insecurity" is the battle cry—but there has been no decrease in the liberals' state of alarm. And they have allies in high places. When I asked a Bush administration official at the Department of Agriculture about the government's persistent efforts to address what appeared to be a non-problem, I was told that there are "13.6 million hungry children" in America—which is the "food insecure" category hyped by the liberal groups funded by the food outfits. But the department's own estimate is that 0.6 percent of American children experience hunger—a rate that has been cut in half over the past five years, concurrent with welfare reform.

The "hunger crisis" has plainly been overtaken by an obesity crisis. Why is the Bush administration sounding an alarm about the growing incidence of obesity, while still decrying widespread hunger in America and force-feeding America's poor? **NR**

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■ PERSONALITIES ■

Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Jerk

The appalling politics of John Le Carré

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

PEOPLE are increasingly exploiting the time lag imposed by the United Nations and its weapons inspectors to oppose the liberation of Iraq. Here run the little streams that make up the broad river of the Left, pacifists and defeatists, Hollywood exhibitionists, 15-minute celebrities, well-meaning but deluded clergy and hippies, the French and the Germans who resent any and all action on the part of the United States, anti-globalization freaks and others discontented by temperament, all calling for peace but actually promoting tyranny. Prominent in this crowd is the thriller writer John Le Carré. A recent article of his with the title "The United States of America Has Gone Mad" has echoed round the world.

Article isn't quite the right word for this rant. It is a pure specimen of left-wing anti-Americanism, in its way a collector's item to treasure, offering insight into Le Carré and the fantasies he cherishes and promotes—fantasies tragi-comic in their distance from reality but which undoubtedly comprise the world-picture of the Left. There is a "Bush junta" and it is immersed in conspiracy, having planned a war for a long time. Far from being a blow to them and the entire nation, September 11 was a wonderful opportunity to distract attention away from their conspiracy and the shameless protection of their own vested interests. Confronting Saddam Hussein, "Bush and his junta" are leading everyone to perdition in an action worse than anything in living memory, worse than McCarthyism and the Bay of Pigs, "in the long term potentially more disastrous than the Vietnam War."

Inconsistencies and sub-Marxist clichés confuse this apocalyptic stew. On the one hand, there's "America's need to demonstrate its military power to all of us," and on the other hand Bush "has an arm-lock on God," who appointed America to save the world, and further appointed Israel to be "the nexus of America's Middle Eastern policy." (It's so helpful to give a little Jewish tinge to conspiracy.) It is also all about money and oil. "If Saddam didn't have the oil," Le Carré throws out, "he could torture his citizens to his heart's content." (Which is exactly what he is doing anyhow.) And the next sentence reads, "Other leaders do it every day—think Saudi Arabia, think Pakistan, think Turkey, think Syria, think Egypt."

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Article isn't quite the right word for Le Carré's rant. It is a pure specimen of left-wing anti-Americanism.

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Some of these countries have oil, some don't, and that's got nothing to do with torture, except for the neat implication that the United States is really responsible for the torturing that others do. Le Carré is kind enough to allow that Americans are "thoroughly decent and humane"—they support the overthrow of Saddam only because they have been browbeaten and "kept in a state of ignorance and fear." Not gone mad, then, but victims of a massive public-relations trick.

In regular interviews, John Le Carré likes to describe how since childhood he has been unhappy. His mother deserted him when he was still small, his father was a conman in and out of prison, and this upbringing still has the power to hurt. In his youth in the Sixties he had worked for MI5, the British security service, and MI6, the espionage service. He made a reputation writing thrillers about the rival intelligence services operating during the Cold War, and

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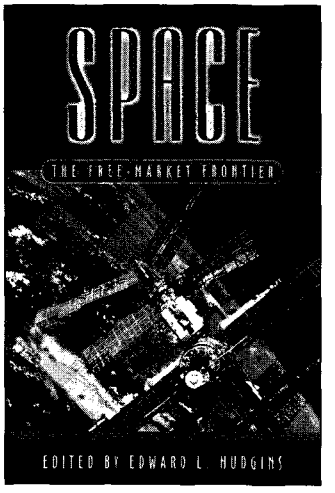

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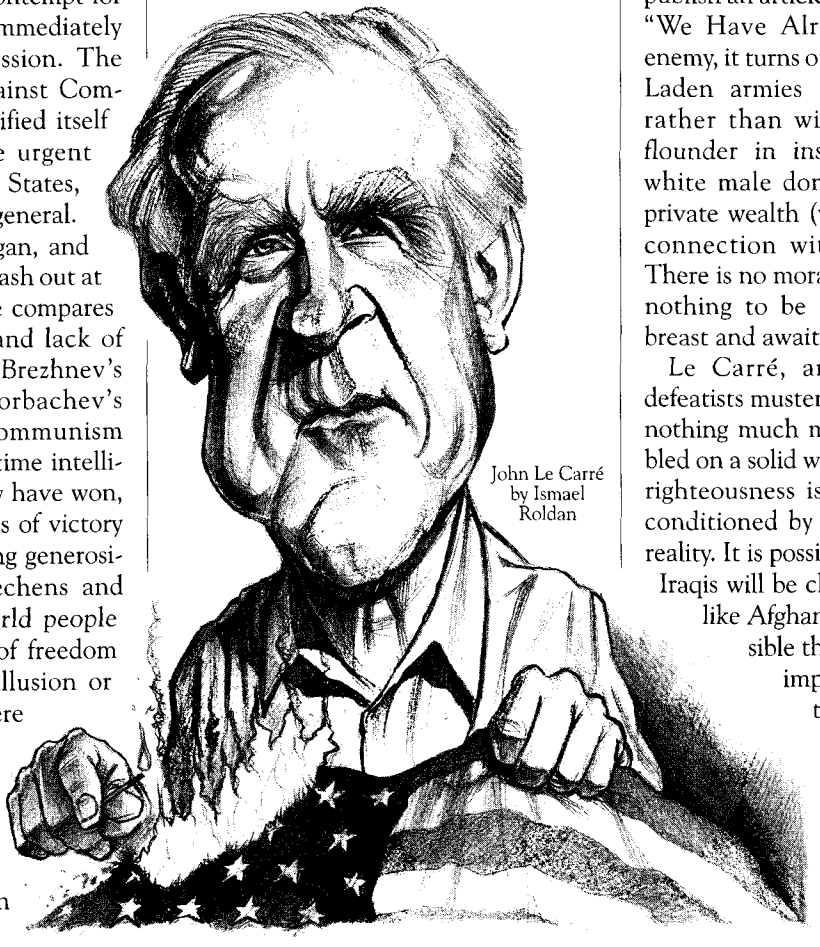
very successful they proved to be, depicting the world as a place of darkness and betrayal in which nobody and nothing can be trusted. These thrillers convey (with considerable literary skill) an atmosphere of distress, a general sense that nothing ever comes right—you don't have to be much of a psychologist to see this as a projection of the limited inner self. In the days when the Cold War was still at its height, the perceptive historian Walter Laqueur was the first to point out that Le Carré was not merely writing thrillers with a special setting, but positing moral equivalence between the Soviet Union and the West. Both sides were as bad as the other in his view, and there were neither heroes nor villains, only stale and untrustworthy careerists. More than a caricature, this was a lie, but it was titillating coming from someone who presented himself as an insider with the key to the hidden mechanisms of international politics.

The end of the Cold War, critics used to speculate, threatened to leave Le Carré without a subject. Not so. After its long incubation, contempt for the West and all its works immediately became his primary expression. The rather hapless struggle against Communism has long since clarified itself in his writing into a more urgent struggle against the United States, the West, and capitalism in general. He despised President Reagan, and still takes every occasion to lash out at the Thatcher era, which he compares to the stagnation, greed, and lack of culture which existed in Brezhnev's Soviet Union. In fact, Gorbachev's failure to reinvigorate Communism brought no joy to this one-time intelligence officer. The West may have won, he declared, "but the sweets of victory elude us." Instead of showing generosity, the West left the Chechens and other colonized Third World people to their fate. All the talk of freedom and democracy involved illusion or hypocrisy. If ever Castro were to fall, he said in one typical rhetorical flourish, the American administration would "wander about like a lost child in the wood, calling for Uncle Fidel." In the manner of drug addicts, the United States and Britain were unable to free themselves from "war nostalgia," and "prayed for some great new conflict to come along that would make us safe again" (though how war meant safety he did not attempt to explain).

For the last 20 years, Le Carré's writing has been steadily and angrily simplifying and reducing moral considerations, raising up right-wing bogies against whom to take sides, and in the process preaching more of the hellfire sermons beloved of those who are sitting pretty and know it. Here is how in 1993 he characterized Americans and their ambitions: "They are the global architects, the world-order men, the political charm-sellers and geopolitical alchemists who in the Cold War years managed, collectively and individually, to persuade themselves—and us, too, now and then—that with a secret tuck here, and a secret pull there, and an assassination somewhere else, and a destabilised economy or two, or three, they could not only save democracy from its defects but create a secret stability amid the chaos." And yet—incoherence again—at the same time he was saying, "I don't think there's any way on earth that the United States can escape the responsibility of repeated and risky foreign interventions in the coming decade."



John Le Carré by Ismael Roldan

That makes for the perfect villain: a powerful and secretive agent whose role and even duty it is to interfere, but whose purposes and plans are doomed to turn out badly for everyone. So Le Carré raves against capitalism and Wall Street and corporate America and the pharmaceutical industry, or Big Pharma, as he calls it. In hindsight, the Cold War looks different to him, for it provided "the perfect excuse for Western governments to plunder and exploit the Third World in the name of freedom, to rig its elections, bribe its politicians, appoint its tyrants, and by every sophisticated means of persuasion and interference, stunt the emergence of young democracies in the name of democracy." Needless to say, the actual record is nothing of the kind.

September 11 prompted Le Carré to publish an article encouragingly entitled "We Have Already Lost." The real enemy, it turns out, is ourselves. The Bin Laden armies "will gather numbers rather than wither away" while we flounder in institutionalized racism, white male dominance, and obscene private wealth (which of course has no connection with literary royalties). There is no moral right on our side, and nothing to be done except beat our breast and await more casualties.

Le Carré, and the pacifists and defeatists mustering with him, represent nothing much more than graffiti scribbled on a solid wall of society. Their self-righteousness is a thing of the mind, conditioned by egoism, impervious to reality. It is possible that in a few weeks, Iraqis will be cheering their liberators, like Afghans before them. It is possible that Saddam's regime will implode like Gorbachev's, that tyranny will be overthrown, and freedom and even democracy will prove to be well founded. It is not madness to hope for this outcome, but common humanity. **NR**

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■ TERRORISM ■

The Algerian Connection

What it means, and what it has done

ALISTAIR HORNE

In the cultural wasteland that is Blair's Britain today, sex, soccer, and ways of dodging war with Saddam dominate our media. To us Algeria was a country, inhabited by nasty people, of which we wished to know little; and which we left to its former colonizers, the French. Briefly these reveries were interrupted on January 5, when police and MI5 officers arrested an Algerian (followed by six others) suspected of manufacturing the deadly poison ricin in his Wood Green, London, flat. The sensation passed, and headlines went back to more serious matters, such as the exposure of pedophiles in the British pop world.

Then, a week later, the tragedy that was waiting to happen happened. Following up on tips gained from the London raid, police broke into a house in a suburb of Manchester to arrest several more Algerians. Although MI5 and anti-terrorist officers had been preparing the operation for several days, the police were unarmed and not wearing protective armor. Who did they think they had come to arraign—a TV-celeb pedophile? None of the suspects were handcuffed; there was a scuffle, in which a policeman, Detective Constable Stephen Oake, was stabbed to death, and four others wounded.

Now the fat is truly in the fire: We British do not take kindly to the murder of policemen, especially one as loved and respected as Oake evidently was, and the fact that the alleged murderer was an illegal 27-year-old Algerian "asylum seeker" adds fuel to the flames.

The commanding officer of this appallingly bungled operation, Chief Constable Michael Todd, explained simply: "There was no perceived risk."

But why, *why* was it not perceived? Only the day before the ricin raid, a report in the *Times* (brief, indeed) noted that "Islamic rebels" in Algeria—rebels with suspected links to al-Qaeda—had killed at least 58 people, including 39 soldiers, in one of the deadliest attacks in a decade. The leader of the rebel group was said to have had "at least one telephone conversation with Osama bin Laden" before September 2001. And people like myself who know Algeria, and try to keep an eye on developments there, have been warning of the "Algerian connection" ever since 9/11, and before.

For the past 15 years Algeria has been wracked by a ferocious civil war that has killed almost as many of its own people as the colonial war against France from 1954 to 1962.

Since 1962, the Algerians have had little peace or prosperity. After the dictator Houari Boumedienne died in 1978, a seemingly more benign leader, Chadli Benjedid, took over. Chadli was, however, an apparatchik of the still all-powerful FLN party; and under him the country wrestled with the mountainous economic problems bequeathed by the vast and costly Stalinist enterprises initiated by Boumedienne. There was corruption on a grand scale, estimated to have cost the impoverished country $26 billion over the years—the equivalent of the entire national debt. Under Chadli's pragmatic regime, however, at least a chink of light and liberalism crept through those heavily shuttered windows of Algiers. In 1984, I was able to meet men—and women—who had not dared speak during the Boumedienne years and who now appeared from the woodwork. It was an exciting experience for any historian.

Then, alas, that all-too-brief window of light was closed: Chadli's reforms brought to nothing. The harsh voice of

Mr. Horne's book on the Algerian war, *A Savage War of Peace*, has been republished with a post–9/11 preface (Penguin-Viking). His *Seven Ages of Paris* is available from Knopf.

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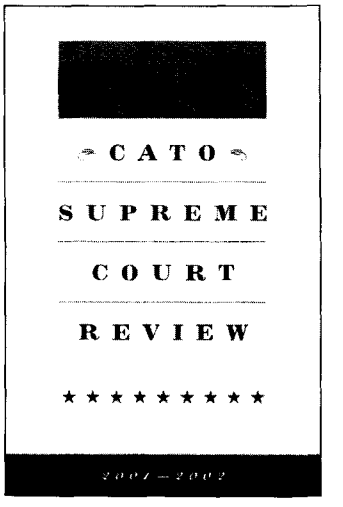

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Islamic fundamentalism was heard across the land; the young, progressive-minded war heroines whom I had met in 1984, with their bright hopes, were forced back behind the *haik* (traditional headscarf), or to emigrate abroad. The state continued to be controlled by the FLN. In the late 1980s a revolt broke out, led by the fundamentalist FIS ("Islamic Salvation Front"). Significantly pronounced *fils*, the FIS proclaimed itself the *fils*, or son, of the heroic and high-principled FLN of the war years.

In 1992, elections were canceled and the FIS disenfranchised. It took to the hills and the streets in much the same way the FLN had in 1954. Starting—just as in 1954—with the killing of local policemen and regional petty administrators, they waged an appalling civil war; the government proved as incapable of crushing it as the French army had been in 1954–62. For all the window-dressing of "Islamic Salvation," the roots of this revolt lay not so much in religious fundamentalism as in the brutal facts of economic privation: unemployment and overpopulation.

Also in 1992, Chadli was replaced by Mohammed Boudiaf, then 72 and almost the sole survivor of the *neuf historiques* who had launched the Algerian rebellion in 1954. He was almost immediately assassinated. Despite all attempts at reconciliation, the hideous killing dragged on through the 1990s. In the way of revolutions, the FIS was in turn thrust aside by an even more extreme band of revolutionaries, the GIA ("Armed Islamic Group"), prepared to wage war with total ruthlessness. Its origins, and leaders, continue to be surrounded by mystery—but its aim seemed to be a complete and anarchic destruction of the existing order.

On a note that was to become pointedly ominous on 9/11, some of the GIA's killers were called the "Afghans": highly trained volunteers who had fought in that country. (We now know that the traffic was two-way, with seasoned Algerian killers returning to instruct the Taliban.) Foreigners—businessmen and journalists—were promiscuously massacred with the clear intent of driving out foreign capital. Foreign nuns were killed on their way to Sunday Mass, while fundamentalists threw acid in the faces of female students who wore "decadent" Western clothes. A bomb brought down the roof of Algiers International Airport, killing nine and injuring more than 100. In Algiers itself the explosion of huge car bombs—killing far more than all the major terrorist actions against the French—became a regular feature of life.

Worse still was the slaughter in the countryside, where whole villages would be massacred by unknown guerrillas, for unknown motives. In 1996, ten women and three children from the same family had their throats slit by Islamic suspects, who descended wielding axes and saws. The techniques of murder equally had echoes from the days of the war of '54–'62. Throat-slitting (dubbed the "Kabylie Smile" by French servicemen, after an especially war-torn area of Algeria) has long been an Algerian specialty—and it may not be coincidental that this was the chosen means of slaughter of the pilots on 9/11.

■

The French currently damn Britain—with reason—as a safe haven for Algerian terrorists.

■

By the end of the century, Algerians themselves spoke of the "blind war"; in its prolonged senselessness it came to resemble Europe's Thirty Years' War of the 17th century. All the weighty military apparatus (an army of 120,000, backed up by 80,000 police and paramilitaries) of a repressive government seemed powerless to halt the mayhem—and indeed there were recurrent rumors that somehow the army itself was involved in the uprising.

Meanwhile, the economy suffered, and one-third of the labor force was unemployed. This helped bring recruits to the revolt—just as Palestine suicide bombers emerge from the hopelessness of Gaza and the West Bank. At a rough estimate, over 120,000 Algerians have died—and 120 foreigners—with a cost to the economy running into billions of dollars. Some leaders of the FIS and GIA have been captured, and others killed, but still the bloodbath continues. Now the GIA appears to have splintered into a yet more dedicated group of killers, the GSPC (translated, ominously, as "Salafis for Preaching and Combat"; Salafis are a most austere Muslim sect).

The war overflowed across the Mediterranean. In 1995 the GIA brought terrorism to the Paris Métro, killing and wounding over 80 persons. It supposedly aimed at dissuading the French from their backing of the Algiers government. In what could have been a hideous preview of 9/11, it turned out that an Air France plane—hijacked, pointedly, on Christmas Eve, 1994—was supposed to be flown into the Eiffel Tower.

There may well be Islamists who view 9/11 as a marker of the beginning of a new, worldwide revolt, just as All Saints' Day, 1954, has held that significance for two generation of Algerians. In this context, Algeria's "War of Liberation" acquires a new, sharper relevance. Could the Manchester tragedy have been avoided if only we had studied more closely this "Algerian connection"? I think so. Under the feeble, excessively libertarian rules of New Labour's asylum policy, Algerian GIA terrorists have been positively *encouraged* to gain entry into Britain, insofar as they can—rightly—claim to be fleeing from a repressive, torturing regime.

When I served on a binational body called the Franco-British Council (charged with the uphill task of improving the entente cordiale), in the wake of the 1982 Falklands War and the damage done to us by French Exocets fired by Argentinians, I headed an effort to make it a priority to get the French to talk defense. Of the various categories attempted, a first joint effort against terrorism was our principal success—the French then being anxious to learn of our techniques against the IRA. The wheel has now turned: We need their help.

The French currently damn us—with reason—as a safe haven for Algerian terrorists operating against them. In French eyes, Blair's Britain looks like one of those fat, defenseless grubs under whose skin a wasp lays its eggs that will one day prove lethal to the host body. **NR**

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■ COVER STORY ■

Death in Africa . . .

. . . and stoppable death at that: How to combat AIDS

ROD DREHER

WHEN the history of the global AIDS pandemic is written, Ugandan president Yoweri Museveni, who acted boldly and successfully early on to fight the virus in his nation, will go down as one of its heroes. Uganda's HIV-infection rate has declined more dramatically than that of any other country in Africa, or elsewhere. It does not demean Museveni's achievement to point out that he benefited from one critical stroke of luck: He did not have Western experts on hand to tell him what to do.

Left to his own devices, Museveni used common sense. Realizing that sexual behavior had everything to do with the spread of HIV, he invited Christian and Muslim clergymen to be part of his prevention campaign. He saw that Ugandan communities, at the local level, had already figured out the disease's basic epidemiology (that it was spread via sexual behavior), and were responding accordingly. The president mobilized community groups—the most important of which were religious—behind a national AIDS-prevention effort, and exhorted them to preach even more forthrightly to Ugandans about the need to abstain from premarital sex and be faithful to their partners.

The Ugandan government reinforced this message with a massive public-relations offensive, warning people that walking the sexual straight-and-narrow was a matter of life and death. The government also targeted schoolchildren with a message to delay sexual behavior for as long as possible, preferably until marriage. And for those at high risk for HIV infection, or who found themselves incapable of self-restraint, the Museveni government advised the use of condoms.

The strategy came to be known as "A.B.C.," for "Abstain, Be faithful to your partner, or use a Condom"—and it worked. With studies showing behavior-change initiatives working nationwide, Uganda's HIV-infection rate peaked in 1991, and has steadily slid ever since, even as AIDS infections have skyrocketed or remained constant elsewhere in Africa. Senegal and Zambia, countries that have also promoted abstinence and faithfulness, likewise report relative success in the fight against AIDS.

Here's the thing: Uganda has been winning the battle against HIV using strategies that have been rejected by Western experts as unrealistic or moralistic. Though the condoms ballyhooed by the West are part of the government's anti-AIDS efforts, they weren't introduced on a wide scale until the mid 1990s—well after the prevalence of HIV had begun to decline. Uganda has proven that abstinence, delay of sex among youth, and, most importantly, fidelity and partner reduction ("zero grazing outside of your own field" was the catchphrase the government popularized) are the strongest weapons against AIDS in Africa.

COMMON SENSE

Rather than pay for clinics, gadgets, or medical procedures—especially in the important earlier years of its response to the epidemic—Uganda mobilized human resources already in place. Vinand Nantulya, a Ugandan physician and immunology researcher who has advised the Museveni government, believes his nation was lucky that no AIDS experts were in the country to help when the epidemic reached Uganda. "People used their own wisdom to curb the spread of the epidemic," Nantulya told a conference in Kampala last year. "The president just captured the common thinking of the people."

This is not news to Edward C. Green, a Harvard researcher who first went to Uganda with USAID funding to survey the AIDS situation in 1993. He was bowled over by what he saw. "I got very excited," he says today. "Here was an approach to AIDS prevention that we experts had dismissed as unrealistic and impossible to achieve. But it seemed like the Ugandans had done it, and done it at a low cost, without requiring any products. I thought those who worked in AIDS

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prevention and donor organizations would be excited. I thought they would want to see how this was being accomplished, and to do further research immediately to see if my impressions could be substantiated."

But nothing happened. In 1996, 1998, and again more recently, Green returned to Uganda on research grants and found even more evidence that behavior change was responsible for holding the line against AIDS. But when he tried to tell the AIDS establishment what was going on there, he was met with indifference at best, hostility at worst.

Meanwhile, independently of Green's research, World Health Organization epidemiologist Rand Stoneburner was coming to the same conclusions about the importance of the Uganda results—and running into the same brick walls. "Everybody [in the AIDS establishment] attempted to come up with some explanation to dismiss the data, from blaming laboratory error to bringing up every imaginable bias," Stoneburner says. "It seemed like the whole world had gone mad. When I was finally able to get people to talk about this, they would ask me, 'What are the implications for this with respect to funding?'"

■

There's an ugly side to the assumptions that some Western experts made in the early days of AIDS in Africa: for instance, that Africans are incapable of being anything but promiscuous.

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What Stoneburner's colleagues meant was that his research on Uganda's success threatened government and private funds pouring into the multibillion-dollar industry that had by then grown up around worldwide AIDS treatment and prevention. If Uganda proved that the key to successfully fighting HIV in Africa lay in a relatively inexpensive strategy focused on behavior change, there would be less need for costly medical interventions of the sort provided by the international AIDS establishment. "Prior to this, I had believed scientists were supposed to be neutral," Stoneburner says. "But around HIV, they're all thinking about how it plays to institutional or political interests."

Why were Western scientists and public-health experts, who are supposed to be neutral observers concerned only with facts, so cold to virtually the only good AIDS news coming out of Africa—news that, if acted on, could have saved countless lives?

Leaving aside suspicions that AIDS profiteering played a role, there are less sinister explanations. Part of the problem, experts say, is a fundamental error of cultural understanding. When AIDS began growing in Africa in the mid 1980s, American experts thought the strategy they'd developed for the United States—mainly the promotion of condom use—could be replicated in Africa. It didn't work, for several reasons. For one, the epidemic in the United States and Europe was largely restricted to relatively small and discrete groups, like gay men and intravenous drug users, who could be expected to respond more readily and effectively to a targeted pro-condom campaign. In Africa, the virus was already in the general population; besides, African men have always resisted condom use, even before AIDS. For another, every previous health crisis in Africa had been handled through internationally-funded clinics and other facility-based medical means, so no one saw any reason why AIDS should be different.

There's an ugly side to the assumptions that some Western experts made in the early days of AIDS in Africa: for instance, that Africans are incapable of being anything but promiscuous. "There's been some stereotyping of Africans, that they have more sex than the rest of us," comments Green, the Harvard researcher. "But if you compare data on average numbers of partners for Africans, and for Americans, the numbers are about the same, although nowadays Ugandans report even fewer partners."

"It all boils down to early on in the epidemic, when AIDS was driven by risky sex, people having multiple partners, and so on," says one highly placed public-health expert, who asked not to be identified. "Most American and European experts assumed that that was just a cultural given, that gay men were going to have lots of partners, and so were Africans. They didn't think that real behavioral change was possible." In part, that's because Western experts had no interest in understanding the religious character of African peoples, except to see their faith as an impediment to fighting AIDS. (To be fair, it sometimes has been: In many African nations, AIDS was initially stigmatized by the faithful as God's punishment for wickedness, and infection was considered too shameful to discuss.)

"Africans are very religious people," says Ray Martin, a retired USAID official with years of experience in Africa. "The guidance and advice and the moral or behavioral teachings that religious leaders give weigh very heavily in the decisions of the common people of Africa. They can teach abstinence and fidelity with credibility. That's not something a ministry of health can do as well." Martin, who now runs a well-connected informational and networking organization called Christian Connections for International Health, is a Presbyterian layman who comes from a religious family, and is himself a regular churchgoer. Yet he admits that during his years helping run U.S.-government AIDS programs in Africa it never occurred to him to question the dominant paradigm, which held that the proper way to fight AIDS was to push condoms and treat sexually transmitted diseases.

When he began to wake up to the failures of those policies, and to the successes of behavior-change programs in Uganda and elsewhere, Martin tried to relate this to Western activists and health professionals. The health sector was resistant to the idea that morality should have a leading role in AIDS prevention, and many AIDS activists, especially homosexuals and HIV carriers, were downright angry. "They interpreted what I was telling them as an indictment of their own past behavior or current lifestyle, so it was very hard for them to accept," Martin says. "They didn't want to see the Uganda data as demonstrating the success of behavior-change strategies, because it could put their own behavior in a negative light."

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PROTECTING THE REVOLUTION

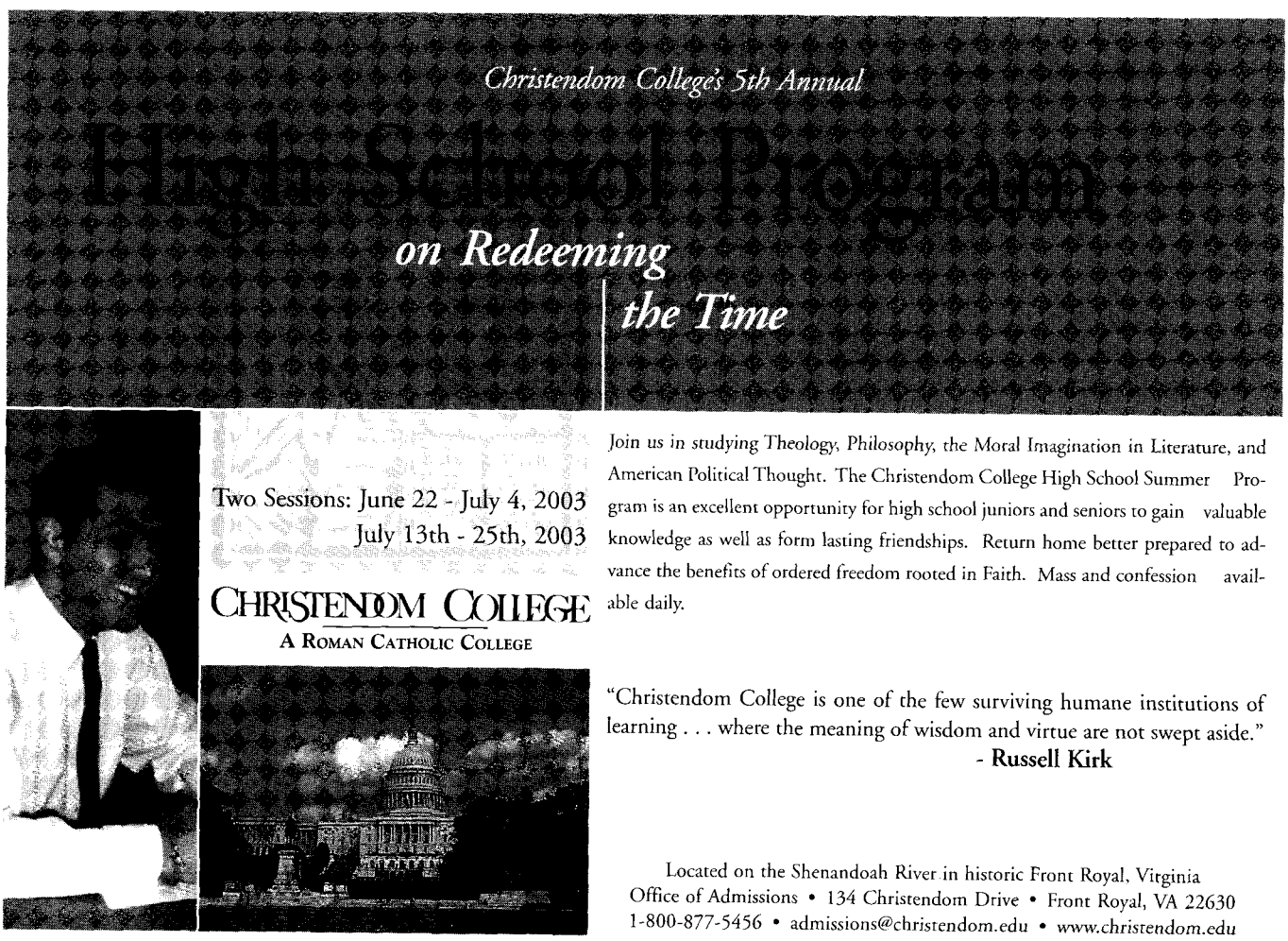
It's hard to believe that data which, if acted upon early, could have saved the lives of millions of Africans were ignored and derided in part to spare the feelings of the HIV-infected in the First World, and to avoid the appearance of giving aid and comfort to American religious conservatives. You might say that countless Africans have died unnecessarily to preserve in the progressive Western mind the purity of the sexual revolution. Such is the cost to Africa of political correctness in the West.

One can hardly overestimate the suspicion and hostility from the international AIDS establishment to any measures, however sensible, that smack of moralizing. The Vatican was disinvited from the Fourteenth International AIDS Conference in Barcelona last year, and protesters angered by the more conservative American positions on these matters refused to let Health and Human Services secretary Tommy Thompson speak (which in turn prompted twelve members of Congress to write the secretary a letter suggesting that the United States should consider pulling its funds from such intolerant events).

Austin Ruse, head of the Catholic Family and Human Rights Institute, an activist-watchdog organization based at the U.N., sees all the time what anyone who challenges the deeply ingrained mental habits of the international donor and activist class has to deal with. "U.N. documents are negotiated line by line," he says. "At the child-summit negotiations a year ago, the U.S. said that abstinence should be included in the document on AIDS education. There was laughter all over the room. Laughter! The abstinence part got in, but it took the full weight of the United States government to get it mentioned at all."

This doesn't surprise Green, a left-wing secularist who faces such paranoia from the scientific establishment that he felt it necessary to begin his forthcoming book, *Rethinking AIDS Prevention*, by stating his credentials as a contraception-promoter in the Third World, and by disavowing any connection to the Religious Right. "Many of my friends and colleagues think that if they give an inch on abstinence, it's going to open the floodgates, and international family-planning programs are going to be attacked," he says. "It makes my work a lot more difficult, because in fact there have been recent attacks of this sort. Now some of my colleagues suspect that Ted Green, self-confessed liberal, is part of a conspiracy to overthrow a lot of things we fought for for years. But I keep coming back to the common-sense fact that this is a disease driven by having multiple partners, so trying to reduce numbers of partners should be central to our prevention message."

There is evidence that Green and a tiny group of against-the-grain scientists and health experts are finally cracking the establishment. With the African AIDS crisis worsening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by the day—they're now burying corpses vertically in parts of South Africa, having run out of room in the cemeteries—and the old ways of thinking having done little or nothing to stem the deadly tide, a growing number of health professionals are showing a willingness to examine the Uganda data with open minds.

Officials open to these ideas have taken charge of significant public-health agencies. Nantulya, the Ugandan former adviser to Museveni and a Harvard colleague of Green's, was named a short time ago to a senior position at the Geneva-based Global Fund for AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria. The Bush administration has also welcomed the new approach to fighting AIDS. Dr. Tom Coburn, a former congressman who is a co-chairman of the President's Advisory Council on HIV and AIDS and who has been in high-level meetings recently in Washington, says that there is no question that this administration is foursquare behind promoting behavior change as part of its policy to combat AIDS.

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It's distressing to consider all the gruesome deaths that await staggering numbers of Africans while the rich, scientifically-advanced West dithers.

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It's hard to turn around a federal bureaucracy overnight, but government health sources report a new willingness at the agency level to discuss the need for an HIV-prevention strategy that goes beyond technological fixes, such as condoms, and also embraces abstinence, fidelity, and related approaches. On December 30, USAID director Andrew Natsios sent a cable out to the agency's offices worldwide saying the "A.B.C." strategy would now be the USAID policy for "generalized" epidemics, such as Africa's. For Ted Green, the Natsios cable signaled that the AIDS-fighting paradigm is beginning to shift in a significant way.

But the Bush administration's enthusiasm is a mixed blessing, according to sources inside and outside the government. Some who have opposed the condoms-only approach are concerned that the administration may seek to emphasize abstinence to the exclusion of condoms, instead of taking the more balanced approach suggested by the data. In general, there is so much reflexive loathing and mistrust of conservatives among the international public-health community that anything with Bush's imprimatur is automatically tainted in the eyes of many of those who run these programs. "If we had a liberal Democrat in the White House, it might be easier to move people at this point, because there wouldn't be so much suspicion that the new USAID policy is a Trojan horse," says Green.

Green, Martin, and others with whom I spoke went to great lengths to stress that they are not against promoting condom use for AIDS-fighting purposes. ("Had I found that condoms, dildos, black panties, and stockings were proving the answer for HIV prevention, I'd say it," Stoneburner jokes.) In fact, even as they complain about ideological blinders preventing their colleagues from seeing certain data, they also fret that conservative ideologues will overinterpret the Uganda data for their own political purposes. "Condoms do work in some places," says the top health official. "If you look at some epidemics, such as in Thailand, they were brought down mainly by promoting condoms in the brothels. That's what the data are showing. You can't just pick and choose the data that suit you. If your perspective is, 'Let's do what it takes to save lives,' then you've got to be honest."

A MATTER OF WHAT WORKS

In the private sector, Martin is using data from Uganda, Senegal, and Zambia in an attempt to convince church organizations in the West that they can and should play a paramount role in turning Africa's AIDS crisis around. He's also trying to convince government to get over its fear of working with faith-based organizations, given that these groups may be the best weapon humanity has. "Churches have powerful tools that really can do something about the problem," he says. "Early on in the epidemic, a lot of churches were interested, but didn't want to get involved in pushing condoms. USAID said if you won't distribute condoms, we can't give you money. Well, ideally I'd like the churches to include condoms too, but if their theology or morality won't permit that, for God's sake let them do what they're able and willing to do."

Reading the grim AIDS statistics on sub-Saharan Africa side by side with the Uganda data, it's distressing to consider all the gruesome deaths that await staggering numbers of Africans—55 million of them between the years 2000 and 2020, according to U.N. projections—while the rich, scientifically-advanced West dithers, unwilling to try the only remedy that's had any success in Africa for fear of warming the Rev. Jerry Falwell's heart. Stoneburner estimates that, if this unscientific prejudice were to be cast aside and the Uganda strategy wholeheartedly embraced by the continent, HIV infections could plummet by 80 percent—which is more than one could expect from even an unusually effective AIDS vaccine.

When the history of the AIDS epidemic is written, there will be a place not only for a visionary African political leader, but also for the names of a few brave scientists, doctors, public-health officials, and activists who refused the comforts and corruptions of conformity and told the politically incorrect truth.

Among them will be Rand Stoneburner, who now lives in South Africa and does consulting work. Because of his refusal to be silent about Uganda, he says, his research confirming the wisdom of Uganda's approach has been suppressed by official health agencies and he has been shunned by some professional colleagues, lost research contracts, and even had data burgled from an office in Uganda. "I stick with it because this is my passion," he says. "Perhaps if I had become more a part of the network without questioning things, certainly it would have been much easier, and I wouldn't have run up so many debts. But it would have been hard to live with myself." **NR**

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Reds, Still

The story no one wants to hear about the antiwar movement

BYRON YORK

WHEN thousands of protesters marched down Pennsylvania Avenue during the big antiwar demonstration in Washington on January 18, they just happened to pass the national headquarters of the College Republicans. And on that afternoon there just happened to be some young Republicans inside, drinking wine and hanging out. When they heard all the commotion outside and saw the protest going by—they hadn't known their office was on the route—they couldn't help making a statement.

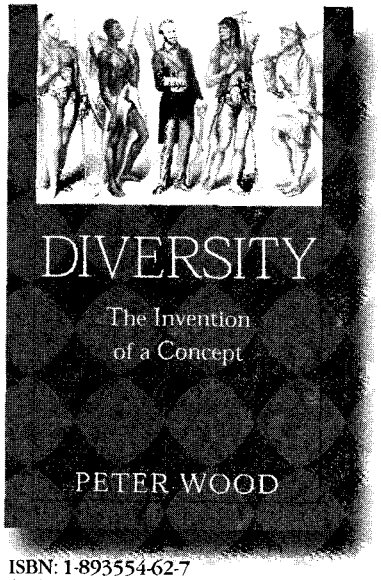
The students pulled a dry-erase board off the wall and wrote a simple message: "Hippies Go Home." They took it out to their second-floor balcony overlooking the march, and what followed was what diplomats sometimes call a frank exchange of ideas.

"F*** YOU!" a group of the protesters yelled. "Nazis!" someone shouted. Others began chanting: "Hey hey! Ho ho! Yuppie f***s have got to go!" The College Republicans seemed to enjoy it all, smiling and waving and making peace signs. They enjoyed it so much that after a while, they found another board and made a sign that said: "Saddam Kills." That seemed to particularly agitate the protesters. "Bush kills too!" they screamed. "Bush kills too!"

It all made for good street theater, but in one sense the young Republicans had it wrong. If they had really wanted to get to the heart of the matter, they might have raised a sign that said, "Commies Go Home." While that wouldn't have been fair to most of the marchers, it would have been a direct hit at the people who organized the demonstration—and who are the most forceful voices in today's antiwar movement.

The protest was put together by a group called International ANSWER, which stands for Act Now to Stop War and End Racism. ANSWER is an outgrowth of another group called the International Action Center, a San Francisco-based organization that showcases the work of Ramsey Clark, the Johnson administration attorney general who has specialized in anti-American causes. Both ANSWER and the International Action Center are closely allied with a small but energetic Marxist-Leninist organization known as the Workers World Party, which in its turbulent history has supported the Soviet interventions in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the Chinese government's crackdown in Tiananmen Square. Today, the WWP devotes much of its energy to supporting the regimes in Iraq and North Korea.

At the demonstration, which many media reports portrayed



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DIVERSITY
The Invention of a Concept
By Peter Wood

"AN IMPORTANT BOOK...Convincingly and with erudition, Wood, addresses what is likely to be the domestic policy issue of the first half of 2003—racial preferences. Wood's book earns a place near the top of the pile of literature debunking affirmative action."
—The Weekly Standard

DIVERSITY IS AT THE TOP OF THE NATION'S AGENDA, the subject of a Supreme Court case that will decide the future of college admissions. It is also the subject of a brilliant new book, *Diversity: The Invention of a Concept.* No longer a word indicating variety and multiplicity, diversity has become an argument for prescribed racial and ethnic outcomes. Peter Wood shows how this concept staked a claim on law, politics, education, business, entertainment, personal aspiration, religion and the arts. Wood has searched out the DNA of diversity and written its biography. No wonder Shelby Steele calls this "simply the best and most thorough critique of the diversity phenomenon yet written."

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as a gathering of mainstream Americans, speaker after speaker condemned the United States with ancient Communist rhetoric: "revolution," "struggle," "oppressed peoples," "imperialism," and "liberation." One speaker even addressed her fellow protesters as "comrades." Given the impressive strength of the public-address system, it felt like a literal blast from the past. And if the subject had not been so serious, it might have seemed almost quaint. But the demonstration's organizers, perhaps unwittingly, made a very serious point: More than a decade after the fall of the Soviet Union, and long after most Americans stopped worrying about the Red Menace, a significant part of the movement that has risen up in opposition to war in Iraq is, in essence, a Communist front.

COMRADE BRIAN

Perhaps the most visible face of the demonstration was its co-director and chief spokesman, Brian Becker. Becker got a lot of exposure in the days leading up to the rally; he was quoted in newspaper articles, appeared on TV, and did radio interviews to promote the event. A member of the secretariat of the Workers World Party—and called by some the party's house intellectual—Becker is a contributor to the party's newspaper, *Workers World*, as well as a top official of International ANSWER and the International Action Center.

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'What impressed us the most was the unbreakable determination of the North Korean people to defend their socialist society.'

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There is an almost central-casting quality to Becker's Communism. For example, in a December 2000 address to the Workers World Party conference in New York, Becker began by discussing issues raised by "comrades" who had recently been to Cuba and then launched into a detailed and impassioned analysis of Marxism and revolution. Becker stressed that the Workers World Party had "supported the Soviet Union against imperialism and domestic counter-revolution." He praised the Soviets for having "sent invaluable aid to Vietnam, Cuba, the African National Congress in South Africa, and other national-liberation movements." He railed against "U.S. imperialism." And he concluded: "We know that the biggest single contribution that we can we make to the final transition to socialism everywhere is to build a truly revolutionary party that can lead the struggle to overthrow imperialism at its center."

These days, with the Soviet Union long dead, Becker spends much of his time supporting rogue regimes. Last August, he traveled to Iraq as part of a delegation led by Ramsey Clark. In an article in *Workers World*, he bitterly condemned the "lawless aggression" of the "imperialist" and "racist" U.S. air patrols enforcing the no-fly zone. In early 2000, Becker traveled to North Korea to help build what he had earlier called "a movement of genuine solidarity" with Pyongyang. Accompanying Becker was a WWP writer, who described the deep impression North Korea made on them. "Wherever we went and whomever we spoke with," she wrote, "what impressed us the most was the unbreakable determination of the North Korean people to defend their socialist society against U.S. imperialism."

Such statements do not add up to the ideal profile for a leader in an antiwar movement that seeks broad mainstream support. But don't suggest that to Becker. At a news conference the day before the protest, he grew angry when asked about his association with the WWP. "I want to talk about *you*," he said. "NATIONAL REVIEW is a racist pro-war magazine. It's got a long—many, many generations of racism and militarism. So your so-called interest in the Left is complete bullshit. You're just looking to try to divide the antiwar movement. This is a right-wing, racist, militarist magazine. You should be embarrassed to be working for it." End of conversation.

OBNOXIOUS

Becker is not the only WWP activist who played a key role in the January 18 demonstration. Another co-organizer—and M.C.—of the event was a man named Larry Holmes. A member of the Workers World Party secretariat, Holmes has run for president twice on the WWP ticket. At the rally, he used his time to lecture the crowd on the plight of political prisoners in the U.S. He cited two examples, Mumia Abu-Jamal and Jamil Al-Amin (better known as H. Rap Brown), who have both been convicted of murdering police officers and have become *causes célèbres* in radical circles. "There are so many political prisoners," Holmes told the crowd. "They want peace more than any of us, and they're in prison for fighting for it."

Yet another member of the WWP secretariat, a woman named Sara Flounders, also spoke at the rally, denouncing George W. Bush's "racist arrogance" and "plans for criminal war of colonial conquest." In addition, the crowd heard from representatives of other groups—the Free Palestine Alliance, Free the Cuban Five, and the Korea Truth Commission—that are apparently front organizations associated with the WWP. By the time the rally was over the audience had heard enough cries of "Butcher Sharon!," "We don't want your racist war!," and "Free Mumia" to last for many months to come.

For outside observers, the effect of it all was to raise questions about the real nature of the peace movement. "The Workers World Party is one of the most obnoxious groups on the far Left," says Stephen Zunes, an associate professor of politics at the University of San Francisco who studies the antiwar movement. The WWP exercises influence, Zunes explains, by its sheer energy and resourcefulness. "Historically, you have these groups that are just able to out-organize anybody else. One thing you can say about Marxist/Leninist groups is that at least in the organization stage, they are very efficient." The Workers World Party has simply out-hustled other leftist groups in the work of getting parade permits and organizing big events. According to Zunes, that has created a problem for more moderate antiwar organizations. "It causes division among the non-authoritarian Left groups. They say, 'Do we march at a rally organized by a group like this? I don't feel comfortable with this, but it's the only game in town.'"

But it is not at all clear that other Left groups are truly distressed by the WWP's tactics. In interviews with several representatives of peace-movement groups, most declined to

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condemn the politics of Brian Becker and his associates. "Good for them for having the wherewithal to call the demonstrations," says Scott Lynch, a spokesman for Peace Action, considered the largest antiwar group in the country. "This is ANSWER's dance, and they get to call the tune." Leslie Cagan, a long-time antiwar activist with the group United for Peace, adds, "We are at a point where it is really, really critical that many, many groups come out and voice their opposition to this war. Some in the hard-core Left have taken the lead on that, and I applaud those groups for that."

But others have their fears. "These groups with the more radical agenda get a lot of media attention," says Bob Edgar, the general secretary of the National Council of Churches who is helping lead a new, more centrist antiwar group called Win Without War. "I don't think they discredit the movement, but they turn off some [people] in Middle America."

If anyone in the crowd on January 18 was turned off, there was little evidence of it. Most people seemed to listen enthusiastically to the WWP speakers. But the WWP has no more than a couple of thousand members in the world, and there can't be enough Marxist-Leninists to fill a large portion of the National Mall. So why did they listen?

The answer appeared to be this: Because they hate George W. Bush. Yes, they oppose a war, but the thing that seemed to unite the attendees was an intense hostility toward the president. The signs they carried seethed with rage and condescension. "He Is A Moron . . . And A Bully," said one. Another denounced "Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld: The Real Axis of Evil."

There were old peaceniks: "We've been marching for peace since 1960, and it hasn't happened yet," one gray-haired couple said. There were college students doing their best imitations of hippies. And there were the assorted nuts, like the man who stood naked, but for his underwear, in the 24-degree cold, inviting people to use felt-tipped pens to inscribe peace messages on his shivering flesh (he said he wanted to "get people together on my body—literally, everyone signing up for peace").

Speaker after speaker claimed that the crowd represented the "real America," the millions who are said to passionately oppose a war to oust Saddam Hussein. And that was the way the rally was covered in the press. One fairly typical report on MSNBC said the demonstration included "a growing number of people [who] are speaking out against a war with Iraq—students, grandparents, businessmen, politicians, teachers, actors, and activists, standing shoulder to shoulder in protest."

Newspaper reports largely ignored what was said on the stage; the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* failed to mention much of anything that was said by ANSWER's speakers. The *Times* editorial page said the demonstration "represented what appears to be a large segment of the American public . . . [and was] impressive for the obvious mainstream roots of the marchers."

Surely the *Times* editorialist did not actually attend the march. And surely he or she has not spent much time listening to Brian Becker and his WWP allies. Many on the left are trying to will themselves to believe that there is a massive, grassroots, centrist opposition to war in Iraq rising in the heartland—and finding its voice in rallies like the one on January 18. Perhaps that sounds plausible to people who weren't there. But not to anyone who was. **NR**

Don't Get Greedy!

For sensible, limited war aims in Iraq

ANDREW J. BACEVICH

THAT the Bush administration views intervention in Iraq as merely the opening gambit in a vastly more ambitious enterprise has become all but incontrovertible. However desirable toppling Saddam Hussein is in its own right, in this administration's eyes it is not an end in itself. Rather, it is a means to a much larger end—a preliminary step in an American-sponsored campaign to transform the parched lands of the Arab Middle East into a lush garden of democratic liberalism.

In remarks made in early December, Richard Haass, director of the State Department's policy planning staff, offered the most comprehensive explanation to date of what the administration has in mind. Haass began with the striking admission that for decades U.S. policy in the Arab world had been inherently flawed. Past administrations, Republican and Democratic, had "not made democratization a sufficient priority." Assigning a higher priority to oil, military bases, and resisting Communism, Washington had "avoided scrutinizing the internal workings of countries," permitting the region to exist as a "democratic exception."

As a direct consequence, the Arab world languished, crippled by "economic stagnation and lack of opportunity, closed political systems, and burgeoning populations." Rather than ushering Arab nations toward modernity, Washington allowed them to become "breeding grounds for extremists and terrorists who target America for supporting the regimes under which they live." The result was September 11—by implication, a punishment visited upon Americans for failing to pursue with sufficient ardor their mission as the purveyors of freedom to all mankind.

"It is not in the U.S. interest," Haass declared, "or that of Muslims, for the United States to continue this exception." In effect, Haass was putting longtime allies like Saudi Arabia and Egypt on notice that the old bargain was null and void.

THE DEMOCRATIC TEMPTATION

For the Bush administration, therefore, the political redemption of the Arab Middle East—and perhaps of the larger Islamic world—has emerged as a strategic imperative. Indeed, it has become *the* imperative, next to which other security concerns, such as the rising power of China, the nuclear danger posed by North Korea, and even the pursuit of al-Qaeda, shrink in significance. President Bush and his lieutenants have concluded that only by eliminating the condi-

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tions that give rise to anti-American Islamic radicalism can the United States win a genuinely decisive victory in the war on terrorism. And eliminating those conditions means that Muslims must embrace freedom.

That conviction underlies Bush's eagerness for war against Saddam Hussein and also explains why mere disarmament does not satisfy U.S. objectives. Rather, the administration is intent on converting Iraq into what deputy secretary of defense Paul Wolfowitz has spoken of as "the first Arab democracy." Once transfigured, Iraq will serve as a model and an inspiration for the second and third and fourth Arab democracies—and, if need be, as a base of operations if inspiration alone does not persuade entrenched Arab elites to mend their ways.

So the cynical and small-minded critics who accuse Bush of hankering to invade Iraq for cynical and small-minded motives are dead wrong. If and when Operation Desert Storm II begins, it will not be a war about oil, avenging an assassination attempt, or distracting attention from a floundering economy here at home. It will mark the first step in what promises to be a bold effort to fix the Arab Middle East once and for all.

That is, we will do for Iraq—and subsequently to Saudi Arabia and Egypt and other Arab nations—what we did for Germany and Japan after 1945. We will confront them with the error of their ways and bring them into alignment with our own values, which are, as Bush himself has affirmed, universal in scope and application. In doing so, we will bring peace and freedom to a region long afflicted by conflict and oppression and thus will fulfill our obligation to history.

As a basis for U.S. strategy, the vision of democratizing the Arabs possesses an undeniable, if somewhat fevered, logic. More, it possesses a compelling sort of grandeur with deep roots in the American political tradition. It hearkens back to the same high ideals that drove Woodrow Wilson to ship doughboys off to France to make the world safe for democracy. It bears comparison with the courage of New Frontiersmen, eager to pay any price, no matter how high, and bear any burden, no matter how heavy, to ensure freedom's survival. Perhaps of greater relevance to members of the present administration, expectations that the United States can—indeed, must—confer the blessings of democracy on the Arab world recall the confidence of Ronald Reagan that there are no limits to what American power can accomplish.

Its logic and grandeur notwithstanding, the vision is utterly preposterous. The peoples of the Arab world may one day enjoy genuine freedom. When that day comes, Americans will rightly rejoice. But the ability of the U.S. to hasten its arrival is limited, and efforts to do so by meddling in the affairs of Arab nations will in the near term undercut rather than improve our own security. In the meantime, the costs of implementing the Haass Doctrine will far exceed anything that the White House has acknowledged. And the willingness of Americans to foot the bill is in doubt.

Corbis

Not the right model: Aboard the USS Missouri, *Sept. 2, 1945*

The Haass Doctrine flunks the common-sense test on at least four counts. First, the available evidence suggests that Arabs have little affinity for democracy. Indeed, across the Islamic world, apart from the partial exception of the Turkish Republic (whose commitment to secularism and urge to modernize are a tribute to the enduring legacy of Kemal Ataturk), popular government has not fared well. Richard Haass might fault the United States for this unhappy reality. But others might conclude that the principal explanation lies elsewhere: in historical, cultural, and even theological factors over which even the world's sole superpower can exercise little influence.

Second, U.S. efforts to inculcate democratic values throughout the Middle East will find few allies from within Arab societies. While nations forming the Arab core—most prominently, Saudi Arabia and Egypt—face internal opponents, advocates for liberal values constitute at best a small minority. For the vast majority of Saudis and Egyptians, received tradition defines Truth, which is fixed and unalterable. Any implication, especially coming from Americans, that those traditions are defective and must be overhauled or replaced will engender profound resentment. Based on polling

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data recently released by the Pew Research Center, it already has: Across the great arc of the Islamic world, popular attitudes reflect a deep-seated hatred for the United States. Hence, Arabs can be counted on to resist, fiercely and at length, outsiders' telling them how to run their lives. Even in those quarters where the stirrings of Islamic-world liberalism do exist—for example, in Iran—memories of past U.S. actions are sufficiently fresh that American interference, however well intentioned, is likely to backfire.

Third, Arabs have figured out what Americans refuse to acknowledge: What Westerners refer to as "freedom" comes in a package whose contents we alone define (and frequently modify). Thus, freedom certainly includes praiseworthy values such as self-government and the rule of law. Those other "freedoms" we enjoy—disposable marriages, sexual license, and abortion on demand—are not, however, ones that Arabs are clamoring to secure. Noteworthy here is a speech by secretary of state Colin Powell on December 12, 2002, in which he spelled out just how the administration intends to implement the Haass Doctrine. The centerpiece of Powell's presentation was his unveiling of a new "U.S.-Middle East Partnership Initiative," the aim of which is to introduce Arabs to political and economic openness and thus to "bring hope to all of God's children who call the Middle East home." Notably absent from the secretary's speech was any mention of exactly which Arab nations the United States was partnering up with. There are no such partners: Much of what we're selling, Arabs aren't buying.

Fourth, as a result, we are likely to find ourselves delivering hope to God's children at the point of a bayonet. It won't be the first time that the U.S. government has engaged in such an enterprise. But the relevant historical cases are not Germany and Japan, prostrated by years of total war and thus accepting of the need for reform. For a whiff of where energetic application of the Haass Doctrine may lead, Americans should recall William McKinley's attempt after 1898 to civilize recalcitrant Filipinos. The result was a protracted, ugly, and unpopular war. A generation later, Wilson's efforts to teach Latin Americans to "elect good men" produced similar results. Repeated U.S. military intervention in places like Mexico, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic ensued, but little in the way of democracy. More recent still, the exertions of successive administrations to imprint American values and institutions on South Vietnam failed utterly and ended in bitter, divisive defeat.

THE UNDERSTANDABILITY OF THE B-2 BOMBER

There is an alternative approach that accepts the premise of the Haass Doctrine (that the preeminent threat to U.S. security is not Saddam Hussein but anti-American radical Islam) but rejects Haass's conclusion (that curbing that threat obliges the United States to embark upon a grand campaign to bring the Arab world into ideological sympathy with us). Such an approach would use the coming war against Iraq as a vehicle to persuade Arab governments that they themselves have a compelling interest in putting Islamic radicals out of business. In the Arab world, American values may not count for much, but American power counts for quite a bit. Concepts like parliaments or women's rights may strike Saudi princes as alien. On the other hand, they have no difficulty grasping the significance of a B-2 bomber or a carrier battle group.

The promptness with which U.S. forces dispatched the Taliban in the fall of 2001 has already provided an object lesson of what awaits any regime that knowingly harbors terrorists. By dispatching Saddam Hussein in the coming weeks, U.S. forces can provide a second lesson: that any ruler who flagrantly disregards international norms and engages in behavior that poses a threat to the United States—for example, by funding terrorist groups, subsidizing radical Islam, or nourishing anti-American hatred—can expect to share Saddam's fate.

Thus, taken in tandem, the U.S. intervention in Afghanistan and in Iraq will define red lines that a regime will violate only at its peril. In that regard, the message to the Arab world from American officials needs to be explicit and unambiguous: Respect those red lines and we will respect your existing political arrangements; disregard them and we are coming after you, with or without allies, with or without the approval of the U.N. Security Council.

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In the Arab world, American values may not count for much, but American power counts for quite a bit.

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In sum, what we should demand of Arab leaders is not ideological fealty, but simply responsible behavior. And this demand is not negotiable. We will not insist that the House of Saud declare its adherence to the principles of Jeffersonian democracy. But we will insist—as the Bush administration has yet to do—that those who rule the kingdom will ensure that Saudi Arabia cease serving as an incubator of suicidal terrorists. On that point, we will be adamant and uncompromising. And on that point, with the examples of Afghanistan and Iraq showing that we mean what we say, we can expect compliance.

As it pertains to a post-Saddam Iraq, such an approach would find the United States extracting itself from Iraqi affairs with reasonable promptness. This is not to say that U.S. forces would withdraw in a matter of days or even weeks, but that we would not commit ourselves to a vain effort to remake Iraq in our image, which would require another semi-permanent U.S. military garrison. Once we have established a regime that is legitimate, friendly to the United States, able to maintain Iraq's territorial integrity, and respectful of its people, Washington would do well to leave Iraq to the Iraqis.

A foreign policy based on authentically conservative principles begins by accepting the fact that the world is not infinitely malleable. It recognizes that our own resources, although great, are limited. And it never loses sight of the fact that the freedom that U.S. officials are sworn to protect is our own. Defending that freedom in these difficult times requires courage and resolve. But it also demands modesty and self-restraint—qualities seldom in evidence in Washington since the end of the Cold War. Now is the time, and Iraq is the place, for this administration to begin exhibiting those virtues. **NR**

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The Joys of GPS

How our space edge helps us in war

JOHN J. MILLER

AROUND the middle of February, American satellite drivers will turn on their newest orbiter: a Navstar GPS satellite currently set for a January 29 blast-off. That's on a hurry-up schedule, because it normally takes them about 40 days after a launch to prepare a satellite in the Global Positioning System for full operations. They have to nudge it into a final orbit and make sure it's working correctly—and able to send out the signals that help bombers hit bull's-eyes. "Satellites are pretty complex, and they don't just start working a few hours after they've gone up," says Air Force Lt. Col. Scott Henderson. Teams working nonstop will compress the usual 40-day timetable to 17 days or less, because two of the 28 GPS satellites now zipping around the planet are dying of old age. Another source of urgency comes from what Henderson calls "the evolving world situation." Does he mean Iraq? "Let's just call it 'the evolving world situation,'" he says, with the instinctive caution of a military man holding a high-level security clearance.

The 1991 Gulf War is sometimes called the First Space War, because it was the first clash in which military assets above the earth's atmosphere played a major role in aiding forces on the ground and in the air. GPS was a state-of-the-art technology back then. Today, it's fundamental to the American way of war: Every American war is a space war.

The Marines like to say they're "first to the fight." With the advent of space warfare, however, the honor may no longer be theirs. The very first formal military maneuver against the Taliban probably occurred 22,300 miles above the earth, and was directed from Schriever Air Force Base in Colorado Springs. Schriever is an air base without an airfield—and behind its massive security, in what otherwise looks like an ordinary office building, is a nerve center for U.S. military satellites. Before 9/11, the Pentagon didn't perceive a need to hover any of its communication satellites over Afghanistan. Within 96 hours of the terrorist strikes, however, operators with the 50th Space Wing had moved a DSCS satellite (pronounced "discus" in military slang) that was locked in a stationary orbit above the west coast of Africa to a spot above the Arabian Sea—an ideal location for piping information in and out of the Afghan theater. Moving satellites to a new orbit is no small thing, because their fuel supplies are so limited: Most of them are launched and parked, and what little fuel they have is saved for minor adjustments and an end-of-life kick-out to a distant orbit. Shifting the DSCS into a new position, however, was worth the cost. "It boosted our communications ability in the region by 43 percent," says Air Force Lt. Col. Dave Tobin.

Space operations are so sensitive that almost nobody in the military will talk about them with much specificity. After learning about the DSCS operation during an unclassified briefing on January 7, I asked Lt. Col. Ron Huntley whether similar actions had been taken above Iraq. He offered a semi-answer: "We always optimize our satellite constellations."

That's what Henderson's trying to do with the new GPS orbiter. In an era of precision warfare, the addition of a single satellite can make the difference between a bomb that hits the mark and one that flies off target. Last year, says Henderson, his operators delivered 2.8-meter accuracy, which is to say that GPS signals were able to guide bombs into a circle with a 2.8-meter diameter about half the time—pretty good for a system that was designed to provide 16-meter accuracy. The dramatic improvement comes from daily monitoring to make sure that the satellites are exactly where they're supposed to be, that their antennae are pointed in the right direction, and that all of their electronic and mechanical guts are healthy.

THE FIRST SPACE WAR

Satellite technology began to prove its worth on the battlefield during the Gulf War. GPS data helped Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf throw his famous left hook around Iraqi troops massed in Kuwait. American forces were swift, coordinated, and deadly because they knew their precise location at all times, even though they operated in a terrain of featureless desert. This is a great improvement over the experience of German general Erwin Rommel—the "Desert Fox" of World War II—who had to deal with the possibility that one-third of his troops would lose their way in the sands of North Africa on any given day. "Without GPS," write Michael Russell Rip and James M. Hasik in *The Precision Revolution*, "the ground war [in Iraq] would have been quite different and most likely have lasted much longer."

The Pentagon makes much more use of space today than it did a dozen years ago. Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan, as compared to the Gulf War, required seven times the communications bandwidth for one-tenth of the forces. If the demands on space are greater than ever, so are the payoffs. During the Gulf War, surveillance satellites would detect Scud launches and relay the details to Patriot missile batteries, in a loop that took three or four minutes to complete. Today, that time is down to about one minute. Also during the Gulf War, only about 10 percent of U.S. bombs and missiles were assisted by GPS guidance; during Kosovo and Afghanistan, the rate was about 70 percent. Even the infantry sees a big difference. Twelve years ago, GIs lugged around GPS receivers in bulky boxes weighing nearly 20 pounds; today, handheld "pluggers" hardened for military use weigh less than three pounds.

These are measurable improvements, and each is impressive in its own right. Even more notable is the way in which the military has integrated space into virtually everything it does. Satellites, for instance, are involved in almost every stage of a bomb strike. They can identify targets and provide recent images of them, keep command centers in constant contact with pilots, and guide lethal payloads onto precise locations in all-weather conditions. A sure sign that space has become a routine part of military life is the fact that enlisted personnel increasingly drive satellites; what was once the exclusive preserve of officers is becoming downright ordinary.

"Space didn't win the war in Afghanistan, but it was integral," says Air Force Col. James Rodgers. "You can hardly move

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on the battlefield without encountering GPS and satcom. Space won't ever substitute for some things other forces do, but we can make those forces more effective." That's a textbook definition of force *enhancement*, as distinguished from force *application*. Force enhancement is anything that improves the performance of warfighters, such as GPS helping a Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM) zero in on a target. Force application is the JDAM's explosion. Right now, space is used solely for force enhancement. With the possible exception of ICBMs, which leave and re-enter the atmosphere, force is never applied directly from space. That will change one day, assuming the Pentagon pursues space-based lasers or satellite-borne microwave guns, perhaps as part of a robust missile-defense program. When it does, the weaponization of space, as opposed to its mere militarization (which has already occurred), will make the acrimonious debates over national missile defense look mild.

From the perspective of the Taliban, force enhancement and force application are distinctions without a difference. For more than a year, Green Berets in Afghanistan—"snake-eaters," in the lingo of Air Force space operators—have been able to call in deadly force from above through satellite hook-ups. Many of them carry Viper binoculars, which emit a laser beam that can convert a target's position into exact GPS coordinates. During one operation in November 2001, Northern Alliance troops needed to cross a valley near Kunduz, but Taliban soldiers occupied it. U.S. Special Forces troops determined the enemy position and contacted the air operations center in Saudi Arabia. Within 20 minutes, a nearby B-52 attacked. "The airstrike resulted in heavy Taliban casualties, the destruction of numerous fighting positions and artillery positions, and significant damage to a command bunker," says an official report on the incident.

Erik De Castro/Reuters

An American soldier uses GPS to check his location.

WAR OF THE FUTURE

This kind of space-derived accuracy has uses beyond killing America's enemies. It minimizes collateral damage—an important function when adversaries try to use civilians as shields. It also aids supply drops in rugged terrain. Missing a location by a few meters may not matter in the flatness of western Iraq, but in the mountains of Afghanistan there isn't much room for error. "Space also takes the search out of search and rescue," says Air Force Maj. Brent McArthur, a veteran of Afghanistan air operations. "My second night on the job at Prince Sultan Air Base, we had an Army Apache helicopter go down." The cause was mechanical, but the crash site was in hostile territory. "Space was our first source of information. Because of GPS, we knew the exact location of the pilots and were able to get them out of there right away," McArthur explains. During the Vietnam War and earlier, some planes just disappeared, never to be heard from again. Those days of uncertainty for American flyers (and their families) are probably gone forever.

For all the advantages space provides, however, it also creates vulnerabilities. The U.S. may be the world's foremost space power, but that doesn't mean that nobody else has access to space. Commercial satellite companies, especially foreign ones that lie outside the purview of the Department of Commerce, can snap images of American bases and sell them to anybody. During Operation Enduring Freedom, the Pentagon actually bought up all the overhead shots of Afghanistan to keep them from falling into the wrong hands; it essentially leased satellites as they flew over the region. There's no guarantee this same approach will work in future conflicts. What's more, these commercial capabilities are steadily improving. One U.S. company, Space Imaging, Inc., says it will achieve half-meter resolution in 2004, putting it just a few years behind the presumed capabilities of the best American spy satellites. Yet the private sector shouldn't automatically be viewed with suspicion: About 60 percent of military communications already flow through commercial satellites, with the most sensitive ones transmitted through DSCS or Milstar satellites. Without these private assets, the U.S. military would have a much more difficult time reaching around the globe.

GPS is vulnerable in the same way. It's a Pentagon program, though it now functions as a free public utility for the whole world. Its satellites originally sent out two signals: one for civilian use, and a more accurate one for the military. In 2000, the Clinton administration turned off the filter, giving everybody virtually the same quality of information as the U.S. military. That means some future foe may be able to use GPS coordinates to kill Americans. In fact, this might already have happened: On September 10, 2001, Mohammed Atta is known to have been in New York City and was probably in possession of a GPS receiver. Some investigators believe he locked in the coordinates of the World Trade Center (something he could have done even before the filter was turned off in 2000) and used them the next day after hijacking American Airlines Flight 11 from Boston.

A heavy reliance on space also puts U.S. space assets at risk. Depending on space means having to defend space, against everything from on-the-ground GPS jammers that confuse precision bombs to the anti-satellite weapons that aim at the mainsprings of American communications, surveillance, and precision. Nobody has ever turned an object in outer space into a military target during real combat, but that day can't be far off.

The Pentagon thinks it might arrive as soon as 2017. That's the mock date for the largest space war game it has ever held, which is scheduled for the end of February. It will feature 250 participants from around the world, and they will marshal the hardware of the blue team (i.e., the U.S.) against the red team, defined in this scenario as a "credible space opponent." During the war games of the Cold War, of course, the red team was usually modeled on the Soviet Union. The Pentagon never confirmed this, but everybody knew it to be the case. Nobody will say what country the red team of the space war game is based upon. From the vague descriptions released to the public, though, there's a single obvious candidate: China. **NR**

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Soy Vey!

My agonizing days as a vegan

JONAH GOLDBERG

On December 28, I had duck à l'orange with orzo. The trick to cooking the duck is to rotate it every half hour. This assures that the fat drains out, while the bird remains juicy. For Christmas, my wife cooked an astounding standing rib of beef, with garlic mashed potatoes soaked in butter. I fondle my memories of these meals. I savor them the way a soldier at the front dwells on pictures of his wife and children during a lull in the fighting. Duck and beef and pork are my loved ones, and I miss them terribly.

That's because I'm on a vegan diet. It's not by choice. Rich Lowry has been keen on my writing a firsthand account of veganism for quite some time. "Come on! We can title it 'Soy Vey,'" he said, as if the pun justifies the means. I eventually told him that I would do it after the holiday season, because I wanted to spend Christmastime with my loved ones. He thought I meant my wife and family, the fool.

I call him a fool because to dip the bucket deeper into the well of my antipathy for the man would draw up globs of dark and filthy obscenity best left deep in the unlit bowels of the earth rather than exhumed onto the pages of this magazine. I can just see Lowry sitting there cackling, his senior editors gathered like flunkies around a Somali warlord: "Let's give Goldberg a job that puts him on the can for a week!"

I think of doing violence to Lowry. Often.

A REGIMEN FOR RETCHING

I wrote the above on Day Three of my vegan regimen. Seriously. Had a TV-network censor been monitoring my home, it would have sounded like a smoke detector was going off intermittently. "Bleeping Rich Lowry!" "Lowry, that bleep!" "This bleeping bleep tastes like bleep!" Even my lovely wife was not immune to exclaiming, "Lowry has no bleeping idea what he's asking!" My conversations with my boss had all the conviviality of Don Rumsfeld trapped in an elevator with the defense correspondent from *High Times* magazine.

I suppose this is a good moment to explain what bleeping veganism is. From either ethical or health motives, vegans don't eat anything remotely associated with the meat-industrial complex. This means not just beef, fish, chicken, etc., but all forms of dairy, including butter, cream, and cheese. This qualifies vegans as an orthodox sect of the wider religion of vegetarianism and, hence, often a bit arrogant toward their lesser brethren. There's a great example of what I'm talking about from *The Simpsons*. Lisa Simpson has a crush on a progressive boy:

Lisa: My name's Lisa Simpson. I think your protest was incredibly brave.

Jesse: Thank you. This planet needs every friend it can get.

Lisa: Oh, the earth is the best! That's why I'm a vegetarian.

Jesse: Heh. Well, that's a start.

Lisa: Uh, well, I was thinking of going vegan.

Jesse: [chuckles] I'm a level 5 vegan—I won't eat anything that casts a shadow.

Vegans are indeed far more likely to stress the ethics over health; many of them are indistinguishable from the nuttier animal-rights crowd. For example, you might not be surprised that hardcore vegans don't wear fur or use animal-based soap and cosmetics; but they also don't wear silk, because silk worms are boiled alive to produce it.

So, obviously, I did not live like—let alone become—an ethical vegan, which is to say I wore a leather belt while I ate Kung Pao tofu and I did not exchange my silk ties for burlap ones. But obviously the heart of ethical veganism involves what you eat—so, when I eschewed consuming honey, I was taking a stand against the persecution of honeybees. The website Vegetus.org has a fascinating essay explaining that honeybees are "enslaved" in honey factories where their human overlords regularly resort to regicide if the queen bee's productivity drops. When the next available pretender to the throne is crowned she is artificially inseminated, or "raped," on what PETA's website calls the bee "factory farm 'rape rack.'"

■

When I eschewed consuming honey, I was taking a stand against the persecution of honeybees.

■

Again, I obviously never became an ethical vegan, because to do so would have required me to agree with these ethical precepts. And I'm just not there. When I hear that a bee was raped, my first response is, "Well, what was she wearing? She was probably asking for it." In many ways, I must admit, this makes the whole exercise a bit fraudulent. I went into the process in bad faith and I maintained my bad faith all the way through, like a POW who will eat the food given to him, but nurtures contempt for it along the way.

VEGETARIANISM IS FOR SISSIES

So, what's veganism like? Well, it depends. Much of the stuff at the center of the vegan diet is wonderful. Nuts, fruit, vegetables, beans, some breads, hummus: These things are great and I enjoy them. The problem is that they are the stuff of side dishes. Put an assortment of vegan fare on a dinner table, and the average person will say, "This looks great! . . . Um, is the meat not done yet?" Of course, there are some conventional dishes that qualify as vegan. My wife and I had pasta with pesto more than once, and I ate bean burritos to the point where the lil' lady—ever supportive—suggested that I might want to sleep on the couch until I finished my "research."

The point of this exercise was, at least in part, to dive straight into the heart of the vegan-oriented food industry, which is large, booming, and strange.

The first thing to keep in mind is that veganism is much more stringent than conventional vegetarianism. I spent

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much of my time fantasizing not so much about meat, but about dairy or things that contain eggs or milk. Lasagna without meat is a pretty good meal. Lasagna without meat *and* without cheese is a hate crime.

Au contraire, say the vegans, there are plenty of cheese substitutes out there. In fact, if you simply type "vegan lasagna" into the Google web-search engine you will find hundreds of recipes involving some version of soy or rice "cheese." This reminds me of an old joke Harry Anderson used to tell. He'd hold up an axe and say something like: "This is George Washington's axe. The very one he used to chop down that cherry tree. Unfortunately, the blade had to be replaced years ago. And just the other day the handle broke so I had to replace that too [pause]. But in principle, this is George Washington's axe."

I tried a wide array of "cheese" products made from various non-dairy substances. And guess what? They all taste like really smart scientists got in a room and tried to come up with a close approximation of cheese. But, sorry, soy pizza doesn't taste like pizza; it tastes like something trying to taste like pizza. That doesn't mean it tastes bad, but it only tastes good to the extent it approaches tasting like the real thing. Throughout my ordeal, I kept referring to my meals as "pod-people food"; when you think of what "pod people" are like in *Body Snatchers* movies, what makes them creepy is that they're *almost* human. Meatless Chick'n nuggets, truth be told, don't taste that bad. In fact, I was astounded by how well the manufacturers simulated not just the taste, but the chewy texture, of chicken. But that's what was so off-putting: It's not chicken, and you know it.

For example, the meatless buffalo wings, manufactured by Health Is Wealth, were one of my favorite dishes. Labeled "Completely Meatless and 100% Vegan and Vegetarian," they're made almost entirely from soy and stone-ground wheat. I was disappointed to discover they don't contain fake bones. But why *not* create fake bones? Well, if one is to take the arguments of the ethical vegans at face value, isn't it a bit disgusting or immoral to make products that look like the foods they consider most evil? Fake hamburgers are really a marvel, but while they still come up short on the taste front, they certainly *look* like hamburgers. If meat is murder, why hawk products that look like the mutilated corpse? Consider our views on cannibalism, then imagine selling faux human flesh in, say, the form of human thumbs—"It tastes just like a missionary!" Wouldn't that still be in poor taste?

But the oddest thing, to me, was my rage. After a couple of days of this regimen, I felt healthier—but also developed a feral temper. Ultimately, though, it wasn't the "Tofurky" that ignited my bad humors. I was only *angry* at one person: that awful man Rich Lowry. And I think I know why.

The acolytes of evolutionary psychology tell us our every emotional response is the product of millions of years of Darwinian struggle to survive and procreate. A mother's love may be a beautiful thing, for example, but it's also a genetic imperative if you want your offspring to survive. This is why there are such powerful emotions involved with sex. Love, hate, rage, jealousy, just to name four, circle the reproductive process in a close constellation—and our social institutions recognize this.

On the hierarchy of important needs bequeathed to us by evolution, food is hardly a distant second to sex, if it is a second at all. Our most important holidays intimately involve food and sharing it with family. Marriages and mergers are very often proposed over meals. This is so across cultures and across time. In fact, in his book *The Origins of Virtue*, Matt Ridley persuasively argues that sharing food is "the very basis of society." After all, sex is private, while food is public.

■

Lasagna without meat is a pretty good meal. Lasagna without meat and without cheese is a hate crime.

■

Consider one illustration. Invoking numerous anthropologists, Ridley argues that communal altruism has some of its roots in the sharing of game. Before meat could be preserved, it only made sense for a hunter to take what spoils he and his family could carry and then agree to share the remainder with the rest of his tribe. Trying to protect meat you couldn't use would be spiteful and needlessly dangerous, while sharing it would increase your status in the tribe. Think of a guy with three large pizzas at a Super Bowl party. Bogarting the za makes everybody hate you. Sharing grub you could never finish anyway makes you a hero.

FOOD, GLORIOUS FOOD

Buy this stuff or not, one thing is indisputable: Food matters. It matters to vegans and omnivores alike. And therein lies the misunderstanding between the two camps. Neither side appreciates the importance the other places upon eating. The vegans see every bite as a profound moral-political statement, brimming with repercussions for the world around them. Meanwhile, most omnivores don't see food as a statement, essentially because food is something so basic, so fundamental, so inextricably attached to the familiar arrangements of our daily lives we have no idea what that statement might be; any more than we could imagine what "statement" we're making when we get out of bed and go to work. It may be easy for one person to say "it's just food" just as "it's just sex" trips off some people's tongues. But for many, if not most, of us these aren't peripheral things.

Speaking personally, I can say that food is hugely important to my wife and me. We talk several times a day, every day, about what we're going to have for dinner and how we'll prepare it. This may seem needlessly personal, but that's the point. Food is personal. Maybe not to you; but to many of us. So, on one level, I think I grew furious with Rich for reaching in and yanking out the wiring of my own life. And, on a more basic level, I felt like any caveman would who has had his venison shank viciously plucked from his hands and replaced with a palmful of goo and wet leaves—all for the sake of a "Soy Vey!" headline. Of course, this is all irrational; but most passions are. Fortunately, the whole thing is over and Rich and I can go back to being friends. I'll try to explain it to him over a nice meal—on NATIONAL REVIEW. **NR**

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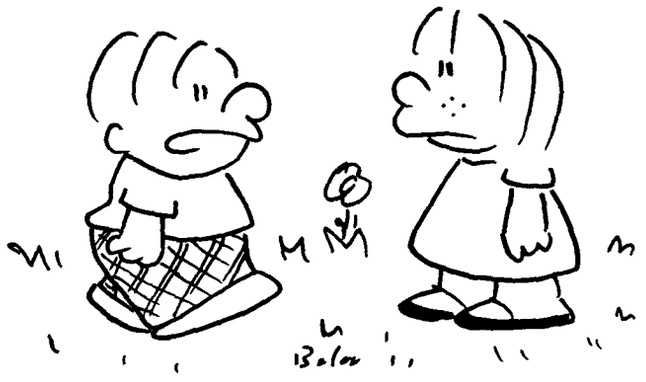

*"Dad just told me the facts of life—*his *theory, anyway."*

For God's Sake, Clap!

Please don't be rude to Al Sharpton;
Al's like the mariner who
Stopped every third promenader
Till, eyeing watches, they blew.
Al is performing a service—
Give him a hand when he stumps.
He can hurt more than Pelosi
Doing congressional bumps.

—W. H. von Dreele

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N CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

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When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which
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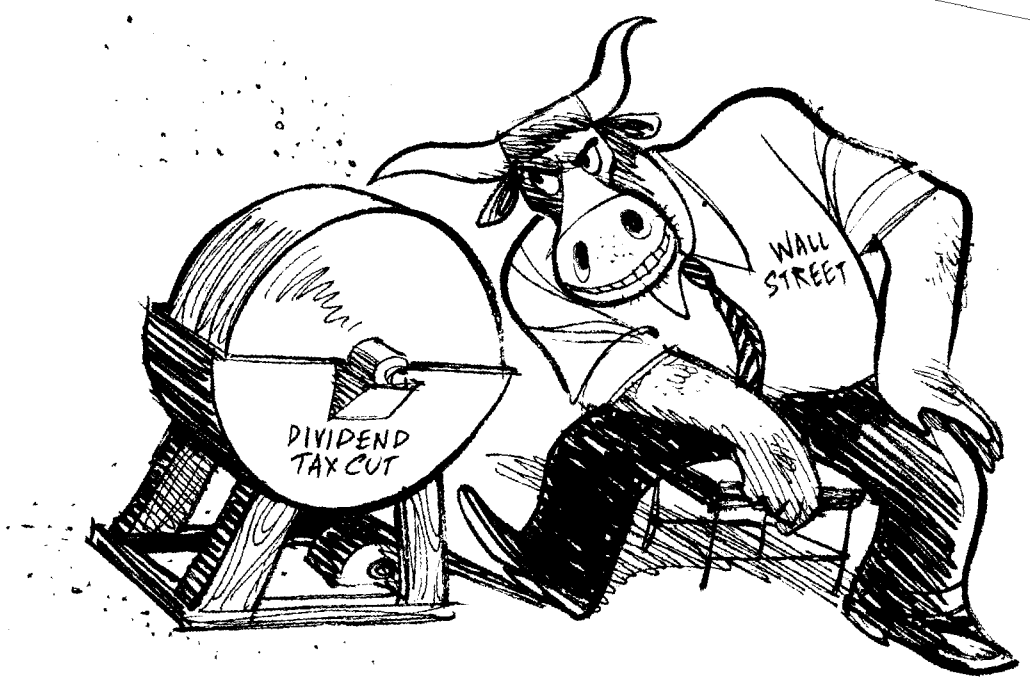

H. Payne

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THE LONG VIEW

By Rob Long

Transcript from *Larry King Live*, February 3, 2004

LARRY KING: "We've got Kim Jong Il, Saddam Hussein, and Fidel Castro on for the full hour! Fellas, let me ask you something. When NBC first came to you three—"

FIDEL CASTRO: "I must stop you there. They came to me first. I was the 'get' that put the project in motion."

LARRY KING: "Well, whatever. But when they finally got you three together and said, 'Hey, we want to do a reality show with you guys all living in the same house in the San Fernando Valley—'"

SADDAM HUSSEIN: "That part was not clear. They only said 'valley' to me, which I took as meaning one of the many valleys in the northern no-fly zone . . ."

LARRY KING: "Okay, still, you all arrive and see the house and what were your thoughts?"

KIM JONG IL: "Well, it was like Saddam and Fidel had arrived a few hours before, and they had already become friends, so I felt kind of shut out, I guess."

FIDEL CASTRO: "I was excited about the hot tub."

SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Honestly, Larry? I was disappointed about the lack of any domestic staff, and furious with myself that I didn't bring along my valet. He was on the plane with me from Baghdad. He didn't know where we were going, of course—nobody in my organization did. That was the agreement with the Saudis and NBC. I would just . . . disappear. Then, a few months later, after the regime change and blah blah blah, *Exile on Ventura Boulevard* would premiere right after *Ed* on Tuesdays. But, I mean, it never occurred to me that we were all just going to do everything for ourselves. It never occurred to me that we wouldn't have some kind of help around the house. So we landed at LAX, I strangled my valet to death, hopped into the shuttle, got to the house, saw the situation there, and just felt like a goose."

LARRY KING: "You strangled your valet?"

SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Gimme a break, Larry. I don't need everyone and their cousin doing tell-all books now that I'm a celebrity."

FIDEL CASTRO: "I enjoyed the hot tub."

LARRY KING: "That was the subject of the first big fight, right?"

FIDEL CASTRO: "The others were very prudish."

KIM JONG IL: "It's not about being prudish. It's about courtesy. It was a small tub, Larry. Two people could not relax in it together without their legs touching. Fidel insisted on bathing nude—"

FIDEL CASTRO: "I didn't insist! I just said I preferred being natural."

KIM JONG IL: "What's natural about being nude with another guy?"

FIDEL CASTRO: "What are you so afraid of, little man? What are you running from?"

KIM JONG IL: "I don't have to answer that, Larry."

FIDEL CASTRO: "Larry, I'm Latin. We're comfortable with our bodies. If I made the Little Dictator over there uncomfortable with my naked manliness, I'm sorry."

KIM JONG IL: "See there? See what he calls me? 'Little Dictator.' But he pronounces 'dictator' real slow so that it sounds like he's making fun of my—"

LARRY KING: "Tomorrow: the full hour with Bonnie Franklin! Let me ask you something, Saddam. While these two were arguing, what was going through your mind?"

SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Well, at first, you see, I was angry about all the noise. So then I tried to strangle Fidel to death."

FIDEL CASTRO: "Not so easy to do, eh?! The old tiger still has some tricks, eh?!"

SADDAM HUSSEIN: "I couldn't quite get a solid grip on him."

FIDEL CASTRO: "I told NBC at the very beginning. I told them when they came to me. I said, Yes, I am tired of ruling Cuba. Yes, I am ready to retire. Yes, I will do your little show. But under two conditions. One, that I am completely nude. And two, that I am always well oiled."

SADDAM HUSSEIN: "So there I am, trying to grab him around the neck . . ."

FIDEL CASTRO: "And I am slipping here and there! I am a slippery seal!"

SADDAM HUSSEIN: "And it was like, I do not need this. And Kim is over in the corner shrieking and crying."

KIM JONG IL: "Please! I was concerned about the oily stains on the furniture. And the broken bottles of Hennessy."

FIDEL CASTRO: "You cannot kill a naked oily man! You simply cannot!"

LARRY KING: "Did anyone from the network step in and stop you?"

SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Are you kidding, Larry? This was great television!"

FIDEL CASTRO: "And now we are fast friends."

LARRY KING: "We've got the boys from *Exile on Ventura Boulevard* here for the whole hour! Next week: Suzanne Somers talks about scleroderma! From Hilversum, Holland, hello!"

CALLER: "Hello, Larry. I would like to ask the three men what they are doing now?"

LARRY KING: "Kim? What's next for you?"

KIM JONG IL: "Thank you for that question. Obviously, returning to Korea is out of the question. That was part of the agreement. And they seem happier without me, anyway. So the big news is that Fidel and I have just signed a deal to do a two-man revival of *Love Letters*. We're going to tour with it—"

FIDEL CASTRO: "But eventually take it to Broadway."

KIM JONG IL: "That's the plan."

LARRY KING: "And you, Saddam?"

SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Well, as you know, my trial begins next month, so I'm really focusing on that."

LARRY KING: "You're on trial for the murder of a Domino's Pizza delivery person?"

SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Yes, yes. The whole thing is absurd. My lawyer assures me I will be acquitted."

LARRY KING: "But don't they have you on tape actually strangling him to death?"

SADDAM HUSSEIN: "I'm really not allowed to talk about pending legal matters, Larry. I wish I was, but I'm not."

LARRY KING: "This weekend, a talk with crazy man Robin Williams!"

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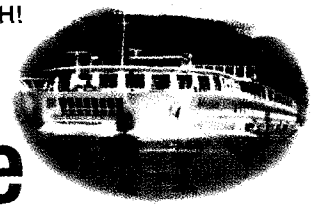

THE NATIONAL REVIEW 2003

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Sun./May 4	Munich/Passau		7:00PM	afternoon transfer to *Mozart* evening cocktail reception
Mon./May 5	Durnstein, Austria Vienna, Austria	9:30AM 5:30PM	12:30PM (overnight)	afternoon seminar
Tues./May 6	Vienna		7:30PM	late-night smoker
Wed./May 7	Esztergom, Hungary Budapest, Hungary	8:00AM 2:00PM	10:30AM (overnight)	late-morning seminar
Thurs./May 8	Budapest		4:30PM	afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Fri./May 9	Bratislava, Slovakia	9:30AM	2:00PM	afternoon seminar late-night smoker
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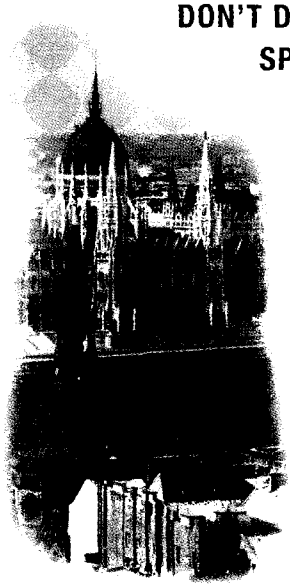

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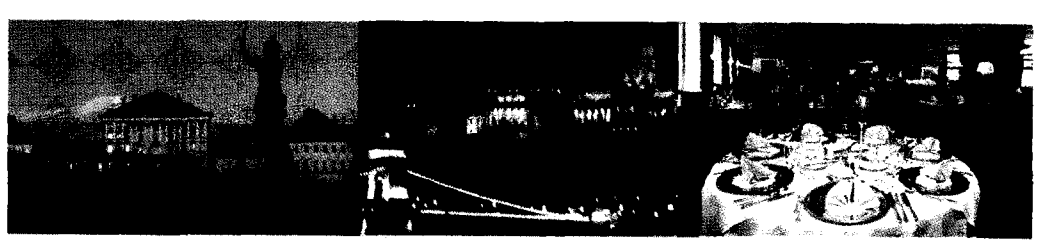

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The Quiet American

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

James Burnham and the Struggle for the World: A Life, by Daniel Kelly (ISI, 433 pp., $29.95)

"READ biography," advised Disraeli, "for that is life without theory." What are we to make, then, of the life of a theorist? For as the title of this biography hints, the life of James Burnham is significant principally because he devised a series of influential theories about the struggle between Western liberty and its enemies foreign and domestic. Those theories influenced great historical figures like de Gaulle and Trotsky and affected the course of U.S. and Western policy, but the man who framed them lived a relatively quiet life outside the limelight. If he had not turned his remarkably lucid and ruthless mind to devising them, he would probably have passed an agreeably uneventful life as a philosopher specializing in aesthetics. Instead, as perhaps the single most important political analyst of the 20th century, he helped to change the world.

What emerges from Daniel Kelly's meticulous research is that Burnham's thought was driven almost entirely by public events. It was remarkably detached both from his class status as a comfortable bourgeois and from the events of his contented private life. In his days as a Trotskyist activist, for instance, Burnham would be called away from a black-tie dinner party to correct the proofs of a revolutionary newspaper without apparently feeling the slightest incongruity. Some of the comrades (notably Irving Howe) detested his WASPish social assurance, but he seems to have been entirely oblivious to

James Burnham by Kenneth Marlow

their resentment. His self-contained personality, reserved and at times even chilly, depended little on the approval of others and enabled him to strike out repeatedly in bold new intellectual directions on the basis of his own judgment.

At least a portion of this confidence must be traced to the fact that Burnham was born into a stable, prosperous, and happy family and soon established a very similar family himself. His marriage was one of those rare alliances in which husband and wife remain romantically in love for the rest of their lives. There is a pleasant paradox here: Though Burnham was above all a theorist of power (that in politics "only power can check power" was the central point of his most important book, *The Machiavellians*), he was surrounded by love and friendship throughout his life. That life demonstrated what every happy family demonstrates: that the personal is *not* the political. The former is the realm of love, the latter of power, and ideologies (such as Marxism or feminism) that deny or discount the importance of love can provide only shrunken and distorted accounts of social institutions. Burnham, who prided himself on a hard-headed Augustinian acceptance of the ineluctable tragedy of human life, rarely discussed the softening and comforting effects of love. But they were the unseen foundation of his own highly productive life.

Thus fortified by domestic bliss, Burnham displayed a sort of intellectual Midas touch. He won academic and social success at school—Princeton and Oxford—with effortless superiority. As a young professor at New York University, specializing in aesthetics, he quickly established his authority. He founded and co-edited a philosophical magazine devoted to literary and aesthetic criticism that soon attracted the cleverer young critics and writers in New York, including Harold Rosenberg and Dwight Macdonald (Kelly calls it "an anticipation of *Partisan Review*"). By the early Thirties he seemed to be heading for a conventional academic career: aesthetician, critic, and—doubtless, eventually—a novelist in the ironic mode.

At this point Burnham converted to Marxism, and plunged headlong into the maelstrom of factional politics. As Kelly argues, this defection from aesthetics to politics was a more profound choice than his later outright rejection of Marxism, for it set him on a career from which he never again diverged. But exactly why he took this fateful step is not very clear. There is little sign of any great soul-searching. Kelly speculates that Burnham was influenced by both the Depression and the advice of his friend and academic patron, Sidney Hook, who was himself the author of a book on democratic Marxism. That is very plausible; Hook was one of only two friends (William F. Buckley Jr. was the other) who exercised anything like strong intellectual guidance over

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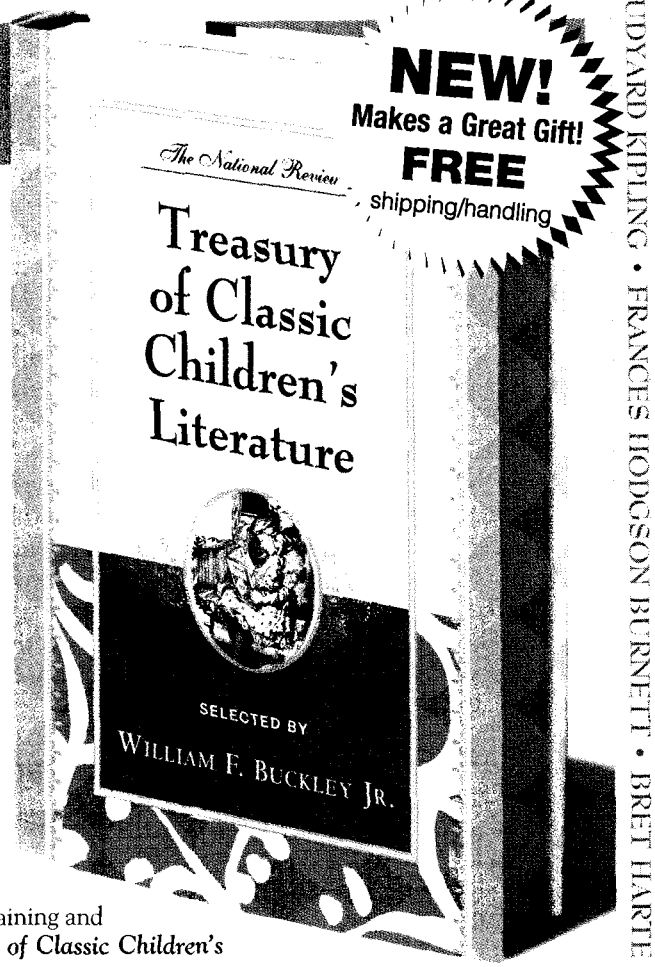

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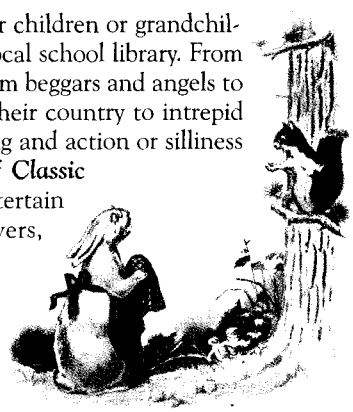

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Burnham throughout his life. But an equally strong influence was probably the zeitgeist. In the 1920s all young intellectuals were aesthetes; in the 1930s they were all revolutionaries. Burnham, who was only 24 at the time of the 1929 crash, is unlikely to have been exempt from the influence of such a deep cultural shift.

Burnham rose quickly in the revolutionary ranks because, quite simply, he was cleverer than almost anyone else in them. He became a member of the three-man politburo of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party; co-editor of its journal, the *New International*; and a leading theoretician whose work Trotsky himself admired. But he fell out with Trotsky and the SWP, as he had done earlier with the Communists, because—unlike most other intellectuals of the day—he refused to surrender his intellectual independence to party discipline.

His break with Trotskyism was precipitated by World War II. Four days after the German invasion of Poland, he predicted that the Soviet Union would soon launch an imperialist grab of the eastern half of the country and could therefore no longer be defined as a "workers' state" worthy of the support of revolutionary socialists. Although the Soviets confirmed his prediction by invading eastern Poland two weeks later, Burnham's breach with Marxist orthodoxy caused ructions among the comrades. Trotsky himself reproached him for his deviations from dialectical thinking. Burnham's private reaction was a contemptuous "I stopped arguing about religion long ago." And that, really, was that: Burnham led some colleagues out of Trotskyism into a more pragmatic socialist sect. Within weeks, he broke even with that group of his own creation, and renounced Marxism entirely. He set about developing a new social theory: that the collapse of capitalism was leading not to socialism but to rule by a managerial bureaucratic elite.

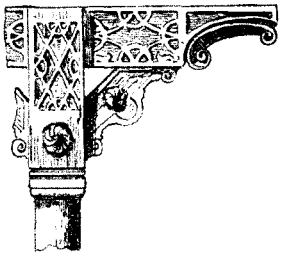
The Managerial Revolution, published in 1941, was an intellectual and publishing sensation. It sharpened and crystallized the intellectual currents—hostile to capitalism but now disillusioned with socialism—of the early Forties. And it made Burnham a national figure. For a while he was widely seen as an important new political prophet. But the failure of some of the book's short-term predictions—notably that Germany was likely to win the war—dented his reputation. Perhaps more damaging was that America and Britain were shifting leftward, and Burnham was moving right. At a theoretical level, his shift took him from Marx to the theorists Pareto, Mosca, and Michels, whom he credited in his 1943 book *The Machiavellians* with the insight that freedom and democracy would be better preserved in a society in which elites were in conflict than under a "proletarian" dictatorship. In terms of immediate politics, he portrayed the Soviets in *Lenin's Heir* (1945) not as gallant allies but as the same people who had swallowed up eastern Poland, and who were now stealthily advancing their great-power interests under cover of the wartime anti-fascist alliance.

■

Burnham exercised more influence on NATIONAL REVIEW than any other single person apart from WFB himself.

■

By the mid-Forties, Burnham had become firmly anti-Communist and would remain so for the rest of his life. This evolution was deeply unfashionable while Stalin was still "Uncle Joe," but it looked prescient when the Cold War erupted—when Burnham was again acceptable in liberal society. By then, his anti-Communism had attracted the attention of the intelligence services—which, for a decade, employed him as an expert in anti-Soviet political warfare. It was in this period that he wrote his important trilogy—*The Struggle for the World* (1947), *The Coming Defeat of Communism* (1950), and *Containment or Liberation?* (1953)—advocating a forward strategy of anti-Communist political warfare.



Increasingly, however, Burnham was falling out with liberals. He thought them indulgent towards domestic subversion and likely to desert anti-Communism in a crisis that required the firm use of American power (thus predicting the Left's response to Vietnam). As a founding member of the CIA-financed Congress for Cultural Freedom, he was in constant conflict with its "non-Communist Left" members—whom the CIA regarded as the most effective opponents of Communism, but whom he suspected of incipient neutralism. When Burnham refused to issue the unqualified condemnation of McCarthyism that liberals sought, the writer Philip Rahv pronounced his epitaph: "The Liberals now dominate all the cultural channels in this country. If you break completely with this atmosphere, you're a dead duck. James Burnham has committed suicide."

And a dead duck he would have been if at that moment William F. Buckley Jr. had not invited him to join the fledgling NATIONAL REVIEW as a senior editor. In that position he exercised more influence on the political orientation of NATIONAL REVIEW than any other single person apart from WFB himself. That was fine on international politics, where the editors were agreed on a firm anti-Communist line; but as Kelly describes in sometimes comic detail, his willingness to support "moderate" Republicans like Nelson Rockefeller because they were stout Cold Warriors provoked conflicts with other NR figures such as publisher William Rusher and books editor Frank Meyer. Here Rusher proved the more acute political seer, helping to organize the Goldwater insurrection that itself launched American conservatism on the path to power and led eventually, under Ronald Reagan, to the kind of anti-Communist foreign policy that Burnham had vainly advocated 40 years before.

But Burnham was now permanently settled both on the political spectrum and at NR; he wrote a regular foreign-policy column for the magazine until his retirement. He produced several more books, including the major *Suicide of the West*, which brilliantly diagnosed the fetus of anti-Western multiculturalism in the womb of early-Sixties liberalism. He became mentor to a generation of younger conservative writers on the

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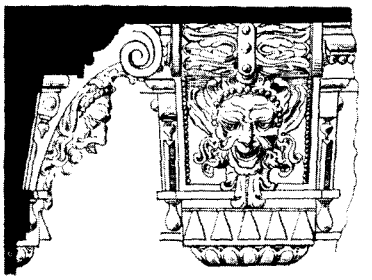
magazine. And if his name no longer rang in the intellectual salons of liberal New York, he was fostering the political forces that would oust liberalism from power at home and favorably conclude the struggle for the world abroad.

His achievements were recognized by President Reagan, who awarded him the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1983. He died in 1987, returning on his deathbed to the Catholic Church he had left in his youth. Two years after his death Communism collapsed in moral and economic ruins.

Daniel Kelly has given us a superb account of both the man and his ideas. His biography is thoroughly researched, lucidly written, careful and persuasive in its judgments, and full of entertaining stories of left- and right-wing politics from the early Thirties onward. Almost the only negative criticism from other reviewers that seems to me to hold water is that his detailed accounts of factional disputes in NR will not be to the taste of everyone—and that criticism presumably will not apply to readers of this review.

Still, how can we assess such a life? It is not quite true that Burnham lived only for and among books and ideas. There was a political organizer inside him struggling to get out. He was an effective committeeman on bodies like the American Committee for Cultural Freedom; he succeeded in establishing, at least for a time, the Free University of Europe for anti-Communist émigrés; and he occasionally got involved in harebrained scrapes, as when he tried to recruit the mobster Frank Costello to kidnap and rob Communist couriers. But it is by his books, ideas, and prophecies that Burnham will inevitably be judged. These are impressive even in Professor Kelly's highly judicious telling.



Burnham wrote four brilliant books in which he advanced three profound insights that were only slightly vitiated by two errors in his thinking. His first important insight, developed in *The Managerial Revolution*, was that capitalist democracy was being eroded by a "New Class" of managers who were gradually establishing their own privileged rule—and who would in time reorder world politics around three managerial super-states based upon Germany, Japan, and the U.S.

The apparently mistaken short-term predictions—for instance, that managerial Germany would defeat capitalist Britain—seemed to discredit the larger argument. But these errors were partly explained by his ignorance of local conditions—"capitalist" Britain was actually mobilized for total war far more thoroughly than "managerial" Germany, where gauleiters siphoned off

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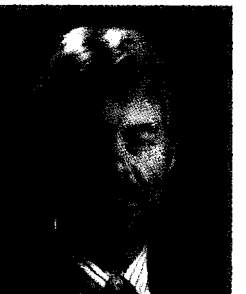

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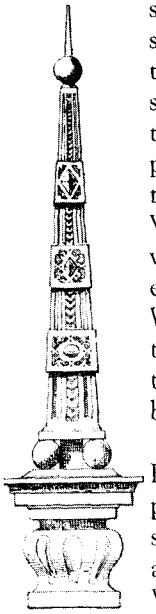
scarce resources for their own use—and partly by the fact that history proceeds by detours rather than along neat straight lines even when it is heading in the direction indicated. More important, as Kelly establishes, Burnham's long-term predictions have not been disproved: Recent Wall Street scandals demonstrate that corporate managers often run enterprises more in their own interests than in those of shareholders. Political power has drifted steadily from democratically accountable parliaments to courts, bureaucracies, and now international bodies. The U.S.-led NAFTA, the European Union, and an Asian bloc dominated even by a deflated Japan are the main players in world economic policy. Of those organizations, the EU is acknowledged even by its strongest supporters to be a bureaucratic entity with a "democratic deficit." And now the managerial revolution is going international—with the "NGO revolution," and with the U.N.'s campaign for world governance through international treaties like the Kyoto accords and transnational bodies like the International Criminal Court.

Burnham's second insight was that Communism was a ruthless and powerful "armed doctrine," but also a vulnerable one lacking popular support where it ruled, and so capable of being resisted and overthrown by a determined campaign of political warfare. His most important proposals for such a strategy in *The Struggle for the World*—namely, that the U.S. should form a close anti-Communist alliance with Britain and that they should jointly encourage the development of a united Western Europe capable of resisting the Soviet Union—were adopted by the NATO powers in the late Forties. These policies undoubtedly saved Western Europe. But Burnham criticized the adoption of half of his own ideas as an insufficiently bold policy of "containment" that was likely to degenerate into appeasement over time—which is exactly how he described "détente" when it came along twenty years later. What he urged in addition was a campaign to destabilize Soviet rule in its satellites by assisting dissidents politically and armed resisters with weapons. For this advocacy he came to be widely regarded as a "kook" who was risking nuclear war. Yet when the "Reagan doctrine" adopted precisely this strategy in Poland, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and elsewhere, the Soviet empire crumbled with remarkable rapidity. Burnham's Presidential Medal of Freedom was well earned.

His third insight, developed in *Suicide of the West*, was that Western civilization was retreating before other civilizations and losing faith in itself—without realizing either fact, because liberalism acted as a sedative reconciling the West to its own decline. Every practical defeat for the West, from Suez to Katanga, was rationalized as a moral gain for humanity and thus for universal "Western values." As Kelly points out, this was Burnham's "most uneven" book—in which a brilliant central idea is obscured by slapdash argumentation and a straw-man account of liberalism; at the time it was widely denounced as a hysterical reactionary tract. As Kelly also points out, however, it is a remarkable work of prophecy, describing very accurately the liberalism of later decades when multiculturalism corrupted liberal values. The robustness of Burnham's critique is further demonstrated by the fact that it easily survived the West's victory in the Cold War. Within minutes, it seemed, liberals were attributing this victory to Gorbachev's independent action, and ten years later they were seeking to constrain the West's central power, the U.S., within the straitjacket of multilateralism. Above all, *Suicide of the West* anticipated Samuel Huntington's "clash of civilizations" and the attack on America launched by Islamism.



Yet if September 11 illustrated Burnham's thesis, it may also have provided a remedy. As he had foreseen in 1966 (in another context), an open assault might rouse the West from the sleep of liberalism: "A nation cannot learn by being lectured to. In this sort of case, I guess it has to learn by being hurt, hurt badly; and this the U.S. has not been since the Civil War." Well, the U.S. has been hurt now—and as a result it is at least beginning to wake up.

All three Burnhamite insights are underpinned, finally, by his best book, *The Machiavellians*, in which he argues that only power can check power—and that therefore freedom can be preserved in the age of the big battalions only by dividing power between different and competing elites. Or, as John Chamberlain (sometime of NR) pointed out in a friendly review, he had reached James Madison by way of Old Nick. Was his journey really necessary? Well, since he reached the right destination, does it matter?

In short, Burnham's principal theories have stood the test of time—and overcome the occupational hazard of all prophets that some of their lesser predictions will prove false. But they have also been handicapped by two elements in Burnham's work. The first is that he persisted for some time, even after he rejected Marxism, in the socialist view that centralized economic planning was superior to the free market. He did not shake off this lingering socialism until the 1950s, when, firmly in the conservative camp, he finally conceded that there was at least a "presumption" in favor of free markets over state planning.

The second drawback was Burnham's literary style and mode of argument. In his most famous books, his argument marches with relentless logic to an inevitable conclusion; it does not meander to several possible hypotheses. His prose is bold, brilliant, sweeping, intoxicating, not cautious, ambiguous, qualified, or merely reasonable. It foresaw apocalypses, the crash of civilizations, and the rise of empires; it rarely predicted that the status quo would shift slightly leftward or slightly rightward. It dealt not with what might happen but with what must happen (or, as he modified his determinism, with what would almost certainly happen). All of this made for exciting reading and dramatic prediction, but it also maximized the likelihood of error. As Richard Posner pointed out in a recent *New Republic* article about Burnham, a literary virtue was an analytic vice.

Yet when all is said and done, Burnham got the big predictions right—even if they took longer to happen than his urgent prose led one to expect. And—what is almost as important—he

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was not guilty of the charge, leveled by Orwell and accepted as valid by almost all Kelly's reviewers, that "at each point Burnham is predicting a continuation of the thing that is happening. Now, the tendency to do this . . . is a major mental disease, and its roots lie partly in cowardice and partly in the worship of power, which is not fully separable from cowardice."

■

Burnham had the intellectual courage and moral clarity to devise a practical resistance to Stalin's big battalions.

■

This is a serious charge. And because Orwell is today a secular saint whose critics are more concerned with body-snatching than with rational analysis of his writing, it would be a damaging charge if left unanswered. So the first response must be to point out that Orwell is guilty of exactly the same "major mental disease" of which he accuses Burnham. Only two months before he published the essay in which the accusation appears, Orwell wrote a letter about a book by Colm Brogan (later NR's London correspondent) in which he delivered this judgment: "Whether we like it or not, the trend is toward centralism and planning and it is more useful to try to humanize the collectivist society that is certainly coming than to pretend, like Colm Brogan, that we could revert to a past phase." Both Orwell and Burnham fell into this determinist fallacy because they were both socialists who then felt that economic laws dictated the superiority of collectivist planning and thus the future.

But which of them fought against this "mental disease" more effectively? A year after Orwell's essay, Burnham published *The Struggle for the World*, which outlined a comprehensive program to reverse "the thing that was then happening," namely, the advance of Soviet Russia. It was adopted and it worked. Orwell's sole policy prescription at the same time was a Socialist United States of Europe that would rob Communism of its appeal by offering economic security without concentration camps. This was every bit as unrealistic as the wartime pacifism that Orwell excoriated. He himself conceded that it would require twenty years of peace to bring about—when securing the twenty years of peace should have been the first aim of any sensible policy.

The mental disease that had Orwell in its grip—a minor and common one, admittedly—was an inability or an unwillingness to examine critically the economic determinism that was part of his socialist faith. Because he felt that collectivism and planning were inevitable as well as just, he constructed an unrealistic foreign policy around that assumption. Though Burnham too had not yet thrown off the influence of economic determinism, he had the necessary intellectual courage and moral clarity to overcome his ideological preconceptions in order to devise a practical resistance to Stalin's big battalions. In due course, he revised the theory too.

Yet Orwell lives in our imaginations, and Burnham is—history. A theme running through almost all the reviews was that Burnham had faded from sight and could now be seen as a marginal, limited, and even irrelevant figure politically. One reason for this eclipse is that, with the single exception of Communism, all the political evils identified by Burnham—the managerial erosion of democracy, the corruption of liberalism, the internal decay and division of the West—are still with us, *and no political party or major statesman proposes to cure or eradicate them*. And Burnham himself used to say: If there's no alternative, there's no problem. Because we have not yet found the remedy for these evils, we see them not as problems to be solved or evils to be fought but merely as unpleasant realities to be accommodated at worst and evaded at best. Accordingly we discount the prophet who warned against them. We may even seek, irritably, to banish him from our minds.

But all bad things come to an end. When our current discontents become too onerous to be borne and we rise up against them, we will then honor the man who perceived the dangers in their infancy and whose main fault was in crying "Wolf" when he saw a wolf-cub sharpening its teeth. **NR**

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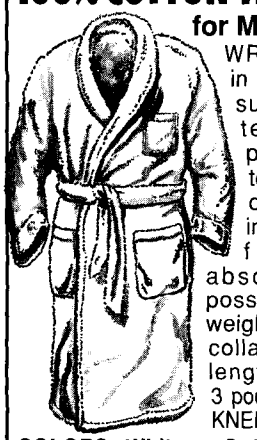

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A Not So Distant Mirror

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

The Anti-Semitic Moment: A Tour of France in 1898, by Pierre Birnbaum (Hill and Wang, 352 pp., $35)

THE Dreyfus Affair was peculiarly French, but its implications are much wider. A modern state, an advanced democracy, evidently could fall prey to the superstitions of the Middle Ages, and lapse into moral chaos. Here was something exemplary, a warning of what the 20th century held in store for many states.

One day in 1894, senior officers in the French army sent for Alfred Dreyfus, an artillery captain, and accused him of selling military secrets to the Germans. Dreyfus was innocent. He was also Jewish, and this was why the officers suspected him. To make their case, they had to falsify or forge evidence. Confronted with the truth, they went in for further fabrications and lying. Their defense was based on nationalism. The honor of the army was at stake, they told themselves and the public, at a time when they were preparing to revenge their recent humiliating defeat at Germany's hands in the war of 1870, and the loss of Alsace and Lorraine. The political establishment, including the judiciary, came to collude with the military in an immense miscarriage of justice.

France took pride in being the country of the Rights of Man. The French Revolution, and then Napoleon, had encouraged Jews to assimilate, and the Jews had done so eagerly. Residual anti-Jewish prejudice survived, but not on the scale of such prejudice in Russia or the Habsburg Empire. Three hundred delegates attended an international anti-Jewish conference in Germany in 1882, and not one was a Frenchman.

This climate changed in the course of that decade, in large part through the activities of Edouard Drumont, an unscrupulous and noisy publicist who was elected to parliament as deputy for Algiers. France was for the French, this proto-Goebbels loved to repeat, maintaining that Jews could never be properly French, and campaigning particularly against Jewish officers in the army. To attack the Jews, he founded a newspaper, *La Libre Parole* (loosely, "Free Speech"), with a circulation of 100,000, as well as a National Anti-Semitic League with 40,000 members. Cruder still were men like Paul Déroulède, who dreamed of seizing power in a nationalist revolution, or Jules Guérin, a street brawler who also ran a paper, *L'Antijuif*, "The Anti-Jew." To all such, the Dreyfus Affair confirmed deep-rooted, not to say historic, stereotypes of the Jew as a foreigner, money-mad, a traitor, altogether the enemy within.

People from all classes and occupations demonstrated, shouting 'Down with Zola!' and 'Death to the Jews.'

Rather conventional, verging on dull, Dreyfus could never quite bring himself to believe in the irrationality of those who hated him. Refusing to be either a hero or a martyr, he sought only to establish that he was a loyal and honorable patriot. The real culprit, the real traitor, was another artillery officer, Major Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy, who was a somewhat bogus aristocrat and an adventurer. Dreyfus's defenders managed to bring Esterhazy to trial, but the falsified evidence led to his acquittal on January 11, 1898—another in what became a series of miscarriages of justice.

Court-martialed and disgraced, Dreyfus spent four wretched years as a convict on Devil's Island, a volcanic island in the tropics. A small number of people, most of them intellectuals, always believed that Dreyfus was innocent, and campaigned for justice to be done. Among them was the novelist Emile Zola, who two days after Esterhazy's wrongful acquittal published "J'Accuse," an article taking up the front page of a prominent daily newspaper. Displaying the power of the pen when properly used, this polemic blew France apart. The public had to take sides for or against the army, for or against Dreyfus, for or against the Jews. Recovering his health in the south of France, the playwright Anton Chekhov spoke for most people when he wrote, "We talk here of nothing but Zola and Dreyfus."

Pierre Birnbaum is a noted historian of the Dreyfus Affair and anti-Semitism. His new book is a study of the outburst of hostility to Jews that immediately followed Zola's great article. At the expense of the bigger picture, Birnbaum takes a somewhat narrow approach; for instance, nowhere does he point out how very few Jews there were in France—fewer than 100,000. (Drumont claimed that there were half a million.) But Birnbaum has mined hitherto-unexplored local archives and police records, to describe in minute detail the doings of many a mob in the cities, towns, and even villages of France. People from all classes and occupations, including many students, demonstrated in their hundreds and sometimes in their thousands, shouting "Down with Zola!" and "Death to the Jews!" Usually they carried sticks or canes, and they hit out with them, and smashed up shops or factories which they thought—often mistakenly—were owned by Jews. Many who in normal times would have defended the Republic and its values were also shouting, "Death to the Jews!"; seeing themselves as good nationalists, all such also shouted "Long live the army!"

Throughout January and February 1898, in the immediate aftermath of Zola's article, there were almost daily demonstrations in Paris, Marseilles, Bordeaux, and Lyons. Nancy, in Lorraine, was what Birnbaum calls the "epicenter" of anti-Jewish sentiment, and the demonstrations there were "countless." Nantes, the important port on the Atlantic, was almost equally violent in its reaction, with rowdy mass demonstrations and a boycott of Jewish shops. Small places were often the most violent—in Saint-Malo, for instance, the police had to set up an artillery

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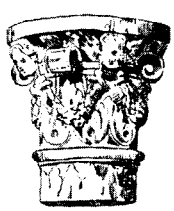
battery to keep the peace. Entrenched political and religious convictions often dictated responses: The Vendée, traditionally Catholic, was unanimously anti-Jewish; Toulouse and the surrounding region were republican and socialist, and therefore less affected by nationalist emotion.

Parliamentary elections were due to be held in May that year. In his truly masterly work *The Affair* (1986), Jean-Denis Bredin reached the judgment that the trials of Dreyfus and Esterhazy had little impact on these elections. Not so, counters Birnbaum: The elections prolonged the period of demonstrations, and many candidates—whether nominally royalist, republican, nationalist, socialist, or radical—exploited the anti-Jewish platform to promote themselves. A strong bloc of anti-Semites then entered parliament.

During the campaign and afterwards, Drumont, Déroulède, and Guérin traveled enthusiastically round the country, whipping up emotion and creating branches of the Anti-Semitic League. With some conspicuous exceptions, the local press supported them everywhere. *La Croix*, a chain of newspapers run by the Catholic Assumptionist order, was particularly venomous. Like Bredin (and most scholars) before him, Birnbaum considers the Church the principal agent of this revived traditional anti-Semitism. On the other hand, the Catholic Francis de Pressensé was president of the League of the Rights of Man, and campaigned indefatigably round the country on behalf of Dreyfus.



In the archives, Birnbaum has discovered long-forgotten characters who once had parts to play in this drama, and this is the most fascinating aspect of his book. There were obscure and obscurantist clergymen like Abbé Garnier or Abbé Hémont, author of *Nancy juif*—"Jewish Nancy"—who imagined Jewish conspiracies everywhere when in fact they were themselves furthering clerical conspiracy. Jean Baffier was a mason, self-styled "a peasant of sculpture," who had a mystical belief in a primitive Gallic or Celtic culture in which Jews had no place. Gravitating to Drumont, and apparently charismatic, he left a mark on the whole region of Berry, and his giant statues are still to be seen in his native city of Bourges. In Bar-le-Duc, a rampaging mob attacked Jewish shops, whereupon the town's Rabbi Taubmann asked them to stop. The local police commissioner took Taubmann into custody and complained to his police superiors about the rabbi's "arrogant attitude." The militant Dreyfusard and Catholic writer Charles Péguy was to lament Jewish passivity: "They were afraid of the blows. They had received so many."

Jews spoke of "a reign of terror"—which it was, although lives were lost only abroad in Algeria, then considered part of metropolitan France, and where Jews (but not Arabs) had citizenship. The undertow of murder and genocide was unmistakable. Drumont's colleague, the Marquis de Morès, declared, "As for the Jews, we will kill them." *L'Etoile de la Vendée* was one provincial paper among others to incite, writing, "The solution to the Jewish question will be bloody." Guérin boasted that he was fighting the Jews "in order to do away with them in a legal manner." During the course of prolonged and dangerous rioting in Paris in October of that same year, Guérin wounded a Superintendent Leproust, was arrested, and subsequently was sentenced to prison for assault. Leproust was decorated.

The anti-Semites did not succeed in taking law and order into their own hands. The state's institutions were not so fragile and corrupt that men of good will despaired of them. It took twelve years, but in the end justice prevailed and Dreyfus was reinstated in the army, serving in World War I.

But it was a dry run for the more complete moral and social breakdown that was soon to plunge Hitler's Europe into lawlessness. The anti-Semitic enthusiasm aroused by the false accusations against Dreyfus prefigures participation in genocide only a few years later by the successors of the Drumonts and Guérins in Vichy France, in the aftermath of another and even more humiliating defeat by Germany. And today yet another generation is daubing "Death to the Jews!" on walls all over France. **NR**

The Immortal

JAY NORDLINGER

Beethoven: The Music and the Life, by Lewis Lockwood (Norton, 480 pp., $39.95)

If you wish to know a composer, where do you go? You go to his music. There you will find what is most true, most important, about him. A biography—the life—can tell us little. It may even cloud the major issues, which are musical. Music dwells in its own world, has its own life. Many a piano teacher has told her charges that Mozart's Sonata in A Minor, K. 310, was a response to his mother's death. Actually, more than anything, that piece is a sonata in A minor.

In his new book on Beethoven, Lewis

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Lockwood wrestles with this question of the music and the life. For him, they are interwoven—and they are separate. Depending. Lockwood believes that the life can relate, in certain ways, to the music, but he is modest about such a relation. This very modesty is one of the strengths of the book. In fact, he begins with a discussion of whether an "artistic biography" is worth pursuing. This should comfort the reader.

Lockwood has lived for a long time with Beethoven and his music. This book can be taken as his summa. Of course, a great many people have gone at Beethoven before him. Paul Johnson, in his recent biography of Napoleon, noted that the mighty Corsican had been the subject of more books than anyone else in history, with the exception of Jesus. Beethoven must rank high on the list as well. It is interesting to note that Lewis Lockwood, as a graduate student, took a course in . . . Beethoven biography. He is now a professor of music emeritus (at Harvard). That course today might have to be two courses!

Do we need another work? Perhaps not, but it is not a question of need. Lockwood is qualified; he has earned the right. Moreover, he makes a graceful point when he compares biographers, all writing about the same subject, to painters, all making portraits of the same man. "Despite certain obvious resemblances, the differences will outweigh the similarities. For no matter how faithfully painters work to present their subjects, they also present themselves."

Lockwood's organization is slightly unusual: He alternates between chapters of simple biography and chapters that analyze Beethoven's music—the music written during the biographical period in question. He hopes that "readers who care more about Beethoven's life" will also read the chapters that deal with music, and vice versa. Of course, the individual reader will most likely pick and choose.

Whatever else one may say about Beethoven's life—whether it illumines the music or not—it is a great life. We have little in the annals of man so dramatic and inspiring. It is worth telling, and retelling, for its own sake.

To run through some simple details: Beethoven, of course, was born in Bonn, a tidy provincial town that, through an awful twist of history, would become the capital of something called West Germany. Bonn was not Vienna, or Berlin, but it had a rich musical life, from which the young Beethoven profited greatly. His mother, by every account, was saintly; she died when Ludwig was 16. His father was quite different: alcoholic and despotic and unreliable. On the death of his mother, the young musician was forced to take over the leadership of the family. He had two younger brothers.

Beethoven had the good fortune to link up to a fine local teacher, Christian Gottlob Neefe, who provided him with a broad musical education and who, crucially, had his charge imbibe and play Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*. This was, as Lockwood says, "the Bible," lifelong. Neefe also made the lad aware of the cultural and philosophical winds blowing through Europe. Before leaving Bonn at the relatively advanced age of 22, Beethoven wrote to Neefe, "I thank you. . . . If ever I become a great man, you too will have a share in my success."

Freshly arrived in Vienna, Beethoven shouldered many burdens. First, there was the sense of responsibility he felt to the family he had left behind. Second, there was the pressure of living up to his billing as the Second Mozart. And third, there was the ill health that always plagued him—ill health that went beyond even his deafness. In 1794, Beethoven wrote out a sort of New Year's resolution: "Courage: Despite all weakness of body, my spirit shall rule. You have lived twenty-five years. This year must determine the complete man—nothing must remain undone."

Lewis Lockwood is absolutely clear on the consequences of Beethoven's wretched health, and on the greatness of the man in overcoming them. He writes, "[Beethoven's] ability to nurture his creative psyche and protect it from . . . physical and psychological anguish . . . is one of the most remarkable features of his life." He deals with Beethoven's situation not only understandingly, but movingly. Beethoven struggled his entire life to be free of pain and imposition. Eventually, as Lockwood says, he was forced to "move inward to a silent world of musical thought."

We should remember, too, that Beethoven was deprived of what he longed for intensely: a wife, a proper family, a stable home. His only opera, *Fidelio*, is almost surely the greatest paean to marital love in art. In fact, its original title is *Fidelio, or Conjugal Love*.

Good as Lockwood's writing is, Beethoven's is perhaps even better. I mean his prose writing, of which the author furnishes many examples. As in his music, Beethoven could be tender, biting, exalted, a little violent. He wrote to a publisher, who kept producing shoddy editions of Beethoven's music, "Mistakes, mistakes! You yourself are a

The Lady-Slipper

Into a virgin wood west of Terra Alta
You took me one afternoon in May
To see the bed of Lady-slipper orchids.
Since girlhood you had kept them secret
So that one spring day you might
Go there as a woman with a man
And find the wild pink orchids blooming still.
You were seventeen; I was a few years older.

In a muslin blouse tied with red ribbons,
You led me by the hand, laughing,
Past cranberry bogs and deep into the pines.
And if I thought you were too young,
I had no heart or mind but to follow you
And see those flowers beloved of Venus,
So delicate and rare they scarce can bear
A man's gaze, let alone the human touch.

In the shade they glowed, the colony
Of flowers, each rising on its green fuse
Out of a crotch of deep-ridged oval leaves,
Each rose-pink blossom with its sac-like lips
Around the pouch netted with purple veins.
And when I turned around we both were naked.
We made our bed in the hurrying light
On a knoll of moss above the bed of orchids.

—Daniel Mark Epstein

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unique mistake!" About the possibility of revolution around him, Beethoven wrote, "I believe that so long as an Austrian can get his brown ale and his little sausages, he is not likely to revolt."

Lockwood ranges far and wide. In his preface, he writes, amusingly, "Within every specialist lurks a generalist yearning to get out—a sensation I have never felt more keenly than while writing this book." He need issue no apology. He has a firm grasp of history, whether political or musical. He gives us a useful primer on the publishing business and its vagaries. A section entitled "The French Dimension and Military Music" might seem tangential and skippable, but it is in fact engrossing.

He also performs the valuable service of telling us how Beethoven worked, with those innumerable sketchbooks. The composer's personal life may have been chaotic, but he imposed order on his creative life. He once wrote two songs to the same text. When it came time to send them to the publisher, he could find, amid his piles of papers, only one. But never fear, he told the publisher: "Since nothing in my house is as a rule ever lost, I will let you have the other setting too, as soon as I can find it."

For those who like musical analysis—a very tiny group of human beings—Lockwood's is authoritative. One could always quarrel with this judgment or that, but nothing is spectacularly unsound. Of course, reading musical analysis can be rather like perusing *Gray's Anatomy*: fine, but is it not better to look at beautiful people, or even at interestingly ugly ones? Sergiu Celibidache, the eccentric and curmudgeonly conductor, famously said that listening to a recording was "like kissing a picture of Brigitte Bardot." Well, musical analysis can be even less satisfying.

And yet, Lockwood's analytical chapters are full of nuggets. I, for one, love knowing that Beethoven copied portions of Handel's *Messiah* into his sketchbook as he was composing his Fifth Symphony—as he would when he was working on the *Missa solemnis*, which is more normal and expected. And Lockwood is not only cogent but positively moving when analyzing the Ninth Symphony.

Conservatives may appreciate especially that this author is an enemy of ideology and cant. He dismisses "ascendant 'cultural studies'" in which "modern political and social content is read into every work of art or literature." And when he said the following, I could have reached through the pages to hug him: "The 'canon' may be ossified in the minds of [certain] critics . . . but its bones have a strange ability to regain flesh and blood when new generations are given access to its best works and are moved by the intelligence and humane values they embody."

I will share with you a personal conclusion, longstanding—and it is one that goes somewhat against the grain. Beethoven was an extraordinarily good man. He was intensely concerned about goodness, and the need to further it and reflect it. One who loved him, Antonie Brentano, said that he was an even greater human being than he was an artist. We often think of him as irascible, abrasive, and brutish, and surely his immense pains tested the better angels of his nature; but those angels just as surely won out.

He listed as his first precept "to do good whenever one can." He wrote to his brothers, "Virtue alone can make a man happy. . . . It was virtue that sustained me in my misery." He was strikingly modest, too, because he knew how poor he was, measured against divinity. He wrote to a friend, "It is a peculiar feeling to see and hear oneself praised and at the same time to realize one's own inferiority as much as I do. I always treat such occasions as admonishments to strive toward the inaccessible goal that art and nature have set us." He meant it. Toward the end of his life, as he was working on his (sublime) final string quartets, he expressed the hope that, in them, "imagination will be less lacking than ever before." He meant that, too.

Lewis Lockwood's book is a feat of scholarship, thought, and sympathy. It will renew your appreciation of Beethoven, if that is possible, or necessary. It will repay the hours and concentration required to read it—although those hours might be even better spent listening to a few of those string quartets.

But not both activities at the same time, please. **NR**

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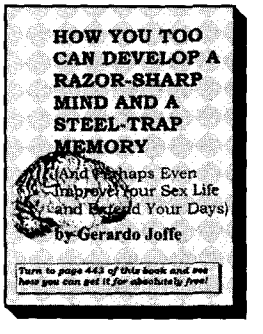
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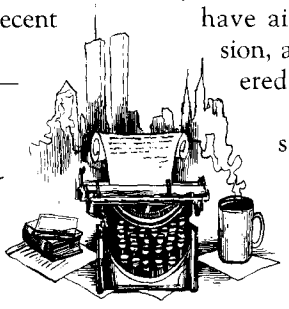
■ CITY DESK ■

Jokers Wild and Mild

RICHARD BROOKHISER

ARE stand-up comics as ubiquitous now as mimes once were? You used to see the latter, white-faced and silent like mourners of Hiroshima, in every urban park. Now it's the cazh, charming, slightly odd-looking young man or woman who plucks the mike off the stand on the club stage and says, "As I was coming here on the subway . . ." A friend who is the maître d' of a neighborhood restaurant yearns to be a comic, and is off to a good start. He has played Vegas, which is like meeting the Pope. I went to catch him, on a bill with a dozen other young comics one recent weekday night.



The club had all a club needs—cheek-by-jowl seating, spotlights, a notional proscenium suggested by velvet wall hangings. The audience was mostly young, many of them I would guess friends of the performers, and many of those with aspirations to perform themselves; the murmurmurmur before showtime had the mannered, slightly louder-than-normal ring of theater people. There were also a few parents, stolid as trolls (the master of ceremonies made sure to direct jokes about diapers and the Normandy landing their way). The small stage hugged one of the walls; it did not displace more than three tables. The comics entered from the left; the M.C. made sure they all got a big hand arriving and departing (like birth and death notices in the local paper); each one had ten minutes to make us laugh.

My experience of the genre is confined to the elders of Zionist humor—Jackie Mason, whom I see on Broadway; Milton Berle, whom I saw at Grossinger's. Berle is playing another circuit, and Grossinger's has been demolished. How is the new generation doing?

That ancient staple of comedy, the ethnic joke, still marches on. Harpo Marx was originally an ethnic character, just like Chico (Harpo was Irish, hence his harp). Before them were Weber and Fields, comic Germans. If Pharaoh had comics, they spoke in thick Sumerian accents. That night's butts were Asian Indians and Hispanics (Indians: precise, wimpy; Hispanics: motor-mouthed, airheaded). Jews (complaining) were another popular subject, though the humor at their expense came in at a different angle, since half the comics were Jewish. If you laugh at someone else, it's a slap in the face. If you laugh at yourself, it's more like auto-erotic death. Jewish comics are being sabotaged by their tribe; the success of the ethnicity has made the persona of the underdog increasingly hard to pull off, though that may be changing again. One young man said he looked like an anti-Semitic caricature. Once I would have yawned through the narcissism of the in-joke. But now that the *Protocols* have aired on Egyptian television, a line like that has recovered a mordant tinge.

Another hoary feature of stand-up is asking where people in the audience came from. Don't ask where we're from; we're here, to see you—get to work. But work, it seems, cannot commence without a few shots at the sticks (Staten Island smells, Connecticut has lockjaw).

Sex? Of course. Straight men joked about not getting any, the gay man joked about not getting out of the closet. The women ranged farthest. One young lady, abandoning the topic of coitus without reproduction, talked about the humiliations of in vitro fertilization (reproduction without coitus). Another riffed off Channel 35, the public-access station that devotes its evening hours to interviews with strippers and adult-film stars, and advertisements for prostitutes. She kept calling the programming, which we all tacitly acknowledged having seen, "porn," which introduced a needling, Andrea Dworkin-ish note. But then she was good enough (to us) to make fun of the prostitutes too, so we were spared the prospect of real anxiety.

Weight was huge. A third of the comics, I would guess, were overweight (an instance of the rule that comedy is acting for the not conventionally handsome). What I saw reflected in the mirror they held up were two crosswise pathologies of American life. We admire steroidal chiseling or 15-year-old wispiness; then we eat double helpings and super sizes. The underwear ads show us what we adore; the comics show us who we are.

There wasn't a lot of politics. The M.C. tried a few jokes about George W. Bush, but they fell flat, thanks, in some small measure, to my silence. If you want to mock the president in wartime, Comedy Man, bring your own laughs.

Laughter is hard work. You think you're funny? Be funny for ten minutes. This magazine employs a number of witty writers. Go through this issue with a highlighter, and mark every line that made you laugh out loud. How much of any one page is colored? Half of it? Two or three lines? What if it was supposed to look like a page of the *Financial Times*? Comedy does not depend solely, or even primarily, on jokes. It depends on character—on the comic's making himself the kind of person that we are disposed to laugh at, and with.

That is why the sound of laughter faltering is so sick-making. Comics call it dying, and that is what it prefigures. Sometimes a crowd slips away for reasons beyond a comic's control. Every house has hot and cold spots, clumps of good and bad audience. The only comic that died that night did so, in part, because three young women from a whooping table got up to go to the bathroom at the start of the act. Suppose they'd had one less Heineken apiece?

Comedy attracts the young because they are brave enough, and foolhardy enough, to risk these little annihilations. The men especially talked about their bad habits: cigarettes, pot, ignoring their doctors' advice. Well may they: They have half a century ahead of them, and at 25, that is eternity. Let's catch them when they have done this a few thousand more times. If they are still funny, then they are funny indeed. **NR**

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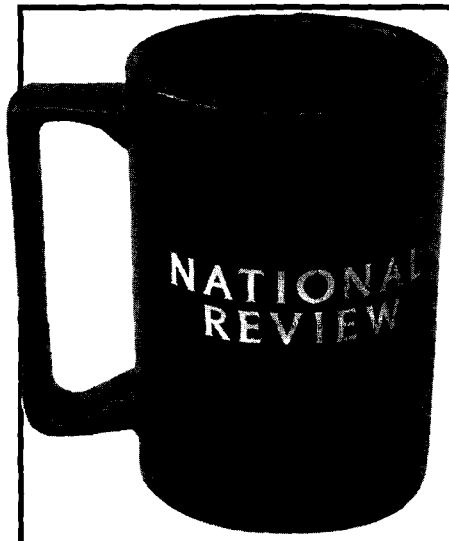

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

The Rich Get Poorer

NEW YORK, JANUARY 7

At lunch with an urbane former publisher, now distinguished professor, the new tax plan of Mr. Bush came up for discussion and I remarked that the class warriors would be in full cry. My resourceful friend said, Hey, where do you get off charging class warfare when all some people want is simply to *criticize* a proposed tax bill?

Waal, I said, what you do is watch the rhetoric. See *how* they say it, what are their formulations. Are the critics simply saying: "This proposed tax reform is a bad idea," or are they saying, "Here we go, mulcting the poor in order to make the rich richer"—that kind of thing?

I proffered as an example of the political mind-tilt, even of professionals who think themselves entirely neutral on such questions, that morning's obituary in the *New York Times* on Roy Jenkins, the British scholar/politician. Toward the end of a full account of Lord Jenkins's life the reporter wrote, "After four years in Brussels, Mr. Jenkins returned home in 1981 to find British politics polarized between an unelectable Labour Party controlled by the hard left and an ultra-right Conservative government dominated by Mrs. Thatcher." The Left in Great Britain becomes, under the kindly editorial nurture of the *New York Times*, merely the "hard" Left. The Right—the "ultra-right."

That same day the *Wall Street Journal* commented in an editorial about the end of the so-called "luxury tax," which, beginning in 1991, was designed to impose surcharges on high-priced goods—a 10 percent surcharge on cars valued above $30,000, on boats valued above $100,000, and on jewelry and furs above $10,000. Upon passage of the bill, "Democrats like Ted Kennedy and then-Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell crowed publicly about how the rich would finally be paying their fair share." What happened was supply-side three-star fare. Boat sales dropped 77 percent, the new tax brought in $97 million less than projected, and boat builders laid off 25,000 workers. Blushing with embarrassment, ultra-hard class warriors noticed they'd badly missed their mark. Mitchell and Kennedy, in whose states most boats are built, acquiesced discretely in rescinding the tax, which survived only for luxury cars—and that ended on midnight last New Year's.

The *New York Times*, in extensive coverage in four different stories, made the rich–poor point again and again, quoting critics whose identities were not always given. Nancy Pelosi, Democratic minority leader, of course, spoke with Democratic leaders about benefiting "the wealthiest Americans almost exclusively." The Democrats ran into themselves in another account. The reporter wrote, "To the degree that anyone cares about taxation of dividends, Democrats said, it is a thin slice of the very richest Americans who are already the Republican Party's patrons rather than the average working families that determine the outcome of elections." If that is so, then Mr. Bush could hardly be accused of a purely political venture. If only the very rich will be helped, and they already vote Republican, how can the Republicans gain by pleasing this tiny percentage at the expense of the great majority?

The idea of freeing corporations of a tax on distributed dividends is reasonably reviewed consulting several criteria. 1) Will the shelter of dividends animate the market? Answer: The market went up 2 percent the day the plan surfaced, and might go up by as much as 20 percent if the reductions are realized. 2) Will the plan induce an economic stimulus? Answer: Certainly not for a while, since more than a year would need to go by before the tax reduction became palpable in the hands of investors. But a higher market value would brighten the skies. And finally, 3) Will the plan effect justice? Answer: Mr. Bush defended it on the grounds that a "principle" was involved. That is certainly the case. In the current system, dividends are twice taxed. It is true that 35.3 percent of the tax benefits would inure to households with incomes of $250K or higher. But it is also true that 24 percent of the benefits would go to those with incomes between $25,000 and $75,000.

"You're sure it'll raise my self-esteem?"

The word "rich" is loaded. When it is used in political commentary it is almost always used invidiously. You can't say "principled" without evoking "unprincipled," democratic without invoking undemocratic, rich without invoking poor. A jacobinical turn of the lips becomes appropriate.

Pyongyang Blues

NEW YORK, JANUARY 10

You have to face it, the North Koreans are a piece of work. In the last few weeks they have 1) airily announced that they were back at work reprocessing uranium, in violation of the understanding of 1994, which understanding we backed up with shiploads of oil; 2) announced that remonstrances by the United States are merely cover for our imperial designs; 3) declared that they would agree to suspend their nuclear program if the United States concluded a non-aggression pact with Pyongyang; and 4) just now, announced that they were withdrawing from the Nonproliferation Treaty effective immediately.

To withdraw from the treaty "effective immediately" is a violation of the treaty, which requires serving 90 days' advance warning. The North Koreans drool on such bourgeois bureaucratic objections, advising that when they set out to withdraw from that treaty in 1993, they in effect served the 90-day notice required by the treaty. That 1993 notice was merely sitting there in abeyance, like good wine waiting to be served when mature. There is a mind-boggling fog generated by these averrals. You guarantee A in 1993, suspend A in 1994, renew A in 2002, affirm non-A in 2003: The blur has a way of mystifying thought.

And the only thought one needs to keep in mind is that Kim Jr. is as unreliable as his father and that the feints and

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threats and digressions mean very little, but that we can parse a strategic design. It is that the North Koreans will use their repository, which may actually include one nuclear bomb or two, in order to press their concerns. These include enfeebling the South Koreans (which could be done by alienating the United States to the point of withdrawing our two divisions there), getting oil, and appeasing China.

We read that an effort by the South Koreans, backed by the United States, is being made to penetrate North Korean ignorance by circulating radios that receive South Korean broadcasts. The radios currently in use in the north receive, like crystal sets, only predesignated transmissions, in this case, authorized government broadcasters. This means hour upon hour of official propaganda aimed at stressing the need for strenuous military activity as a defensive imperative and as testimony to national integrity. Radios that are sent into the country are emasculated: Solder is used to keep the dial out of reach of external temptresses. I recall a train ride in 1970 from Moscow to Leningrad. We boarded at 7 P.M. and the radio in our private compartment was on. I reached to turn it off, but the knob was not functioning. I called "Ninotchka," who came in and through her surliness managed to convey that the radio station could not *be* turned off, nor the volume diminished, that it would cease broadcasting whenever it was turned off by the broadcasting station, which turned out to be about 10 P.M.

But we discovered from the Orwellian USSR that penetration by external news, however important, could not be counted on to change fixed government policies. This was clearest of all in Berlin. In the Eighties it was estimated that 90 percent of East Berliners got their television news from West Berlin: It had become a practical impossibility to block transmissions from the West. But another decade was needed before glasnost set in, and the Wall came down. In North Korea there isn't that kind of time, and to disengage the North Koreans from 50 years of paranoia and internal terror is going to take more time than we can safely count upon.

Now our official position is that we will not bargain with Pyongyang until it demobilizes its nuclear plants. And we know enough, finally, that only tactile inspection of North Korean nuclear facilities can confirm that the threat is removed. How to get to do this is, of course, the problem. Our weapons are oil, food, pressures on China, antimissile deployment in Japan, and nuclear submarines. We need also, always, to remind ourselves how jejune are treaties with hostile powers that can't be relied upon to keep them.

Lieberman Bowing In

STAMFORD, CONN., JANUARY 14

TWO years ago, Senator Joe Lieberman and Vice President Al Gore met at a large hall in Stamford, Connecticut, to kick off their national campaign against Bush-Cheney. That bloodletting ("George Bush not only should not become the next president, he should be run out of the State of Texas"—the speaker from the AFL-CIO) was done before one thousand spectators and nine television cameras. The kickoff on Monday for Sen. Lieberman's presidential campaign was done before 30 cameras at Stamford High School, in a hall so crowded that this reporter was not able even to hold his clipboard perpendicularly.

But then there was not that much to report. The candidate was introduced by the president of the senior class of the high school, an urbane young African-American who advised the assembly that he was greeting Mr. Lieberman as "one president to another president." The crowd howled, because young Joe Lieberman had been president of his class. Much later in the program, answering a question from a reporter, Sen. Lieberman reminisced that "in my campaign in 1960—" he was stopped by laughter—"I mean, in 2000. In 1960 I was campaigning for president of my class."

Joe Lieberman has been campaigning for many years, for state senator, for state attorney general, for U.S. senator, for vice president, and now for president. His speech at Stamford High School was a stumpish stump speech. He spoke of the meaning for America that he himself should have risen to his high standing from modest auspices as a Jewish schoolboy, headed for Yale, the Yale Law School, and now with visions of the White House in 2005.

He needed, of course, to bite into dissatisfactions with the reigning political administration, and of course did so. America is threatened at this moment in its history, he said, by terrorists, and by a recession. As regards the former, he said he believed in a strong America, capable of meeting threats wherever they were launched, or regestating. He listed American engagements in the postwar period, in Berlin, Korea, Vietnam, and, he added, "Iraq." For this indirect commitment to President Bush's announced intentions in Iraq he got slightly less than the applause volume he had been getting after every stanza of his routine obeisance to patriotism, duty, opportunity, and, indeed, God. The proposed expedition to Iraq troubles some Democrats. On the matter of the recession, the only thing he did was to recite the routine dissatisfactions with Mr. Bush's tax program.

A high point in Lieberman's life is his explicit devotion to his creed. The *Stamford Advocate* recorded that as a senior at high school he walked to the senior prom rather than drive to it, in violation of Sabbath laws. He said that whatever else changed in America, he would not change, that he would proceed in life as he was, and that his faith was "at the center of who I am."

When introduced, the high-school principal said of Lieberman that he had been rated as the "greatest personality in Washington." By that, he explained, he meant to say that Lieberman always had something pleasant to say to everyone, and that no doubt there were persons in the room for whom he had done favors.

There is no question about the animating benevolence of Joe Lieberman. But it is also true that when he signed on with Al Gore, his servility to his patron was judged, by some, to be excessive. He modified his stand in favor of vouchers for private schools, modified his advocacy of privatizing a part of Social Security. He had already temporized on the gravity of Bill Clinton's misconduct. And his call on Hollywood to mitigate the sex and violence or invoke "legal restrictions" was entirely neutralized. In Hollywood he promised that if elected, his ticket would go no further than to "noodge you" on sex and violence. The *Washington Post* published an editorial entitled, "Where's the Old Joe Lieberman?"

Well, the old Joe Lieberman is now the old-new Joe Lieberman, charming his way through another political challenge. He is certainly the outstanding moderate on the Democratic presidential scene, and the difference in partisan tone of his appearance with Mr. Gore in 2000, and alone today, 2003, is worth noting. He will probably have to bite harder in the days ahead as primary contests approach. But it is also possible that he will find moderation itself a better way to have access to the voters.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

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DAVID FRUM

Not What They Say, But What They Do

Do my ears deceive me or do I hear a certain grumbling among conservatives about President Bush's intervention in the University of Michigan affirmative-action case?

Conservatives were surely pleased by the decision to intervene itself. Bush condemned the University of Michigan's racial preferences as unconstitutional—and announced that his administration would file a friend-of-the-court brief saying so. The final word in the case, formally known as *Grutter* v. *Bollinger*, will of course be pronounced by the Supreme Court. But solicitor general Theodore Olson has an awfully good win-loss record before this court. By ordering Olson to go argue against the university, Bush has made it just that much more likely that the good guys will win this fight.

So why the grumbling?

Well, first there was the statement Bush issued. In twelve paragraphs, he managed to use the words "diverse," "diversity," and their cognates ten different times. "Diversity" is one of those words (like "compassion" or "infrastructure") that are often used as code for something ugly (racial quotas, in the case of "diversity," welfare-state spending in the case of "compassion," public-works boondoggling in the case of "infrastructure"). Very understandably, conservative ears twitch when they hear such words coming from the mouth of a Republican president. Conservatives wonder whether they aren't hearing the preamble to a sell-out.

Even more alarming, to some, was the argument in the brief that the Bush administration filed in the case. It argued that Michigan did not need to use racial preferences to achieve "diversity" because there were race-neutral ways to achieve the same result—such as the "10 percent plan" used in Texas. This plan grants automatic admission to the state university system to any student who graduates in the top 10 percent of his high-school class regardless of SAT scores.

Many principled opponents of quotas have condemned automatic-admission plans as quota schemes in disguise. The administration's seeming endorsement of them in its brief is, for such critics, simply an unusually roundabout way of staging a sell-out.

But look at what the administration has actually *done*—not what critics fear it might do—and you see a very different and far more encouraging picture.

It is indeed true: The administration has not called on the Court to throw out the system of state-enforced "diversity" with one mighty judicial heave. And for good reason. Briefs to the Supreme Court are not exercises in self-expression. They are arguments intended to persuade judges to vote one way rather than another.

■

Bush adopts conservative policies but he doesn't use conservative rhetoric.

■

Of the nine justices on today's Court, seven are probably unpersuadable by even the most brilliant brief. Four judges (Breyer, Ginsburg, Souter, and Stevens) can be counted on to favor almost all racial-preference schemes; three (Rehnquist, Scalia, and Thomas) can be counted on to oppose them. So everything turns on the opinions of just two people: Anthony Kennedy and Sandra Day O'Connor. It would do no good at all to hand in a brief that delighted the readers of NATIONAL REVIEW if it alienated the two of them.

As it happens, both these judges are extremely cautious people, and O'Connor in particular is famous for her dislike of abstract legal principles. Many conservative legal writers have criticized O'Connor for her "I know it when I see it" approach to the law. Those criticisms may be valid. But the solicitor general has to take his judges as he finds them. If they tend to issue ad hoc, not-very-principled rulings that leave their options open for future cases, that tendency is a fact with which he must cope. He has to show them how they can reach the result he wants using the mode of legal reasoning they prefer.

Which is precisely what the administration's brief in *Grutter* v. *Bollinger* does. Again and again it assures the Court that it can strike down the University of Michigan's racial-preference system without laying down any broad new principles about what universities may and may not do about race. It only asks them to say that the universities may not do what the University of Michigan has done—and that already would be a fine beginning.

The brief does not ask the Supreme Court to order universities to adopt the Texas plan. It cites the plan simply as an alternative that states can adopt if they wish to increase minority enrollment without violating the Constitution. The plan may be educationally lousy. But it is unquestionably legal. And without the show of such a legally valid alternative, this court and these justices could not be persuaded to strike down the Michigan plan at all.

There's a lesson in the conservative unease about the Bush brief, and it is a lesson that extends far beyond this case and far beyond even the large subject of race.

Bush almost always adopts conservative policies, but he almost never uses conservative rhetoric. He does what conservatives would wish, but he seldom does it in the *way* conservatives would wish. He writes a supply-side tax cut—and sells it with old-fashioned Keynesian arguments about getting people spending again. He stiffens America's internal security—while refusing ever to name the enemies he is securing the country against. It can be maddening. And yet it works.

It's very likely that the Supreme Court will accept the Bush administration's reasoning and strike down the Michigan racial-preference plan. It's very unlikely that the ruling will insist on the principled racial neutrality in which conservatives believe. It will probably be imperfect. But it will be progress. Which is exactly what you'd say about the Bush administration as a whole. **NR**

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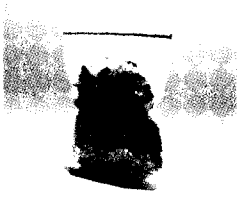

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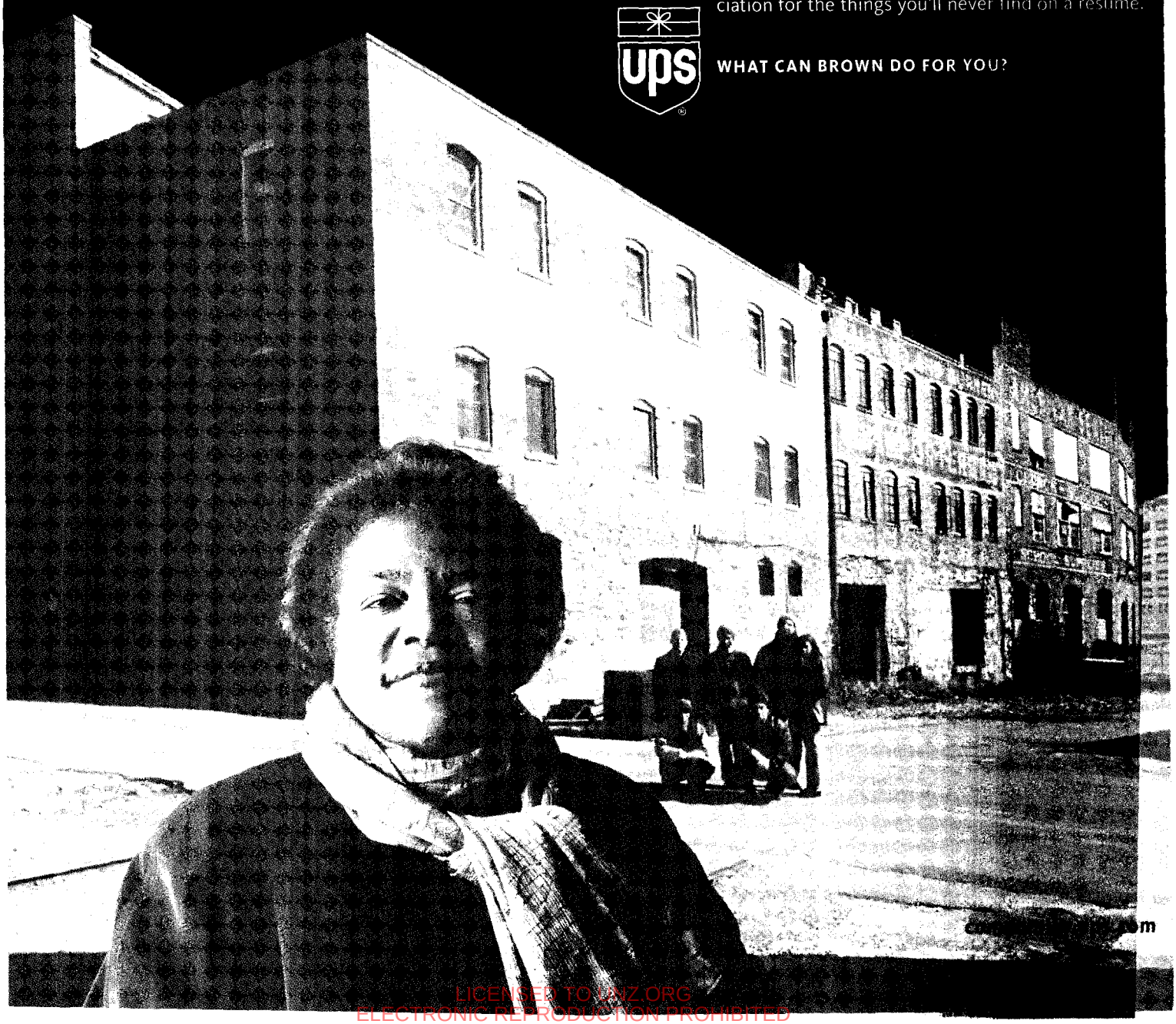

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